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LIFE OF BISHOP JOHN B. M. DAVID

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The Life of
Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David
(1761-1841)

DEDICATED
TO
OUR LADY OF GOOD COUNSEL

United States Catholic Historical Society
Monograph Series IX

The Life of the Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David (1761-1841)

BISHOP OF BARDSTOWN
AND
FOUNDER OF THE SISTERS OF CHARITY
OF NAZARETH

BY
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of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth

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PREFACE

In presenting this volume to the public the writer begs generous indulgence for all its shortcomings. It is hoped that in gathering up these fragments lest they be lost and weaving them into a reliable account of the life and labors of Jean-Baptiste-Marie David additional light is thrown on an interesting portion of American Church history, and that he who contributed so much both as missionary and educator to the upbuilding of the Church of that period, though he is little known today, may find his own place in the affections of a grateful and admiring generation. The story of the early period of the Religious Congregation which he founded is necessarily interwoven with the major portion of his active life.

The writer wishes to thank a multitude of friends whose courtesies and encouragement have lightened the task in progress but who have indicated a wish that their names be not mentioned.

Thanks are due to the Reverend F. Lègouse, S.S., Superior of the Seminary, Nantes, France; to the Reverend E. Levesque, S.S. Superior of St. Sulpice, Paris, France, and the Reverend A. Boyer, S.S., librarian of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, for furnishing material hitherto unpublished; to His Grace Archbishop Curley of Baltimore; to the Very Reverend J. A. Burns, C.S.C., of Notre Dame; to the Reverend John B. Creeden, S.J., of Georgetown University; to Mother General Claracene of Loretto Mother House, Loretto, Ky., for access to their respective archives; to Miss McShaine, librarian of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., for her prompt and ready assistance in procuring references; and last, but not least, to the Reverend Mother-General of the Nazareth Community for affording time and opportunity for the work.

Deep indebtedness must be expressed to the Reverend Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., S.T.D., associate professor of history at the Catholic University of America, under whom the work was begun as a thesis for the Master's Degree, and who encouraged its continuance and completion; to the Reverend Dr. P. Guilday, Professor of Church History at the Catholic University of America, for useful suggestions and for reading the proof; to the Reverend Paul L. Blakely, S.J., associate editor of *America*, for having made the publication of the work possible at this time.

THE AUTHOR.

September 8, 1925.

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While Fouché was puzzling through the maze from which he emerged Duke of Otranto by creation of Napoleon, John Baptist Mary David, his old school-fellow, was engaged with ambitions of a different type. Whether or not that ducal coronet still rests upon some noble head, I cannot say, but this is certain: the ex-seminarian, ex-policeman, ex-spy and, after Waterloo, seriously diminished Duke, said little and did less that his own or any country remembers with gratitude. The future Bishop and the future Duke were children of the same Alma Mater; a contrast almost amusing, and somewhat rare even in France, a land of contrasts that startle and edify.

Destined to carry into far lands the light of learning, the lamp of the sanctuary, and the Cross of Christ, Father David was never in peril, one may think, of succumbing to *ennui*. The young professor of philosophy from Angers was equally at home whether his superiors assigned him to the Maryland country missions or sent him to teach at Georgetown or St. Mary's. He was an associate of Carroll, the Father of the American Hierarchy, chaplain to Carroll, the Signer, and before long was made ecclesiastical superior of the new Congregation which the venerable Mother Seton was forming at Emmitsburg. Chosen by the singular Providence of God for the missions in Kentucky, he began his work by building a seminary. When he came to the West he had reached a time of life which closes new fields of activity to ordinary men, for he was in his fiftieth year. But Father David could never be ordinary. He was not "the missionary on horseback" since, like many another holy man, he was then somewhat corpulent. Yet he claimed his share and more in this and other apostolic labors which a century ago placed the old Diocese of Bardstown among the first in the United States. He eagerly seized every opportunity to advance the cause of Christ. He wrote useful books and pamphlets, encouraged the spread of Catholic literature, and to the last was earnest in securing support for the Catholic press. But his enduring monument is the Religious Community known as the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. To the end he loved piety and learning, and he bequeathed this spirit to the Sisters.

Sister Columba approaches her work in the temper which befits the historian, but in my opinion she occasionally fails to do full justice to the Community of which she is a valued member. To a great degree the life of Bishop David is the life of the Nazareth Sisters, and in them we recognize his learning, his piety, and his eagerness to foster every good work. Sister Columba has told the story well, and must now take rank with those other historians of the Church in Kentucky, the two Spaldings, Webb, Howlett, and O'Daniel.

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

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RT. REV. JOHN BAPTIST MARY DAVID

JOHN BAPTIST MARY DAVID
BISHOP OF BARDSTOWN

CHAPTER I

Early Years (1761-1783)

The home of philosophers and poets, romancers and soldiers, sailors and saints, the homeland of an Abelard, a Le Sage, a Chateaubriand, a Lamennais, a Du Guesclin, a Cartier, land of idealism and mysticism, is Brittany, a province different in language, customs and ideals from every other in all France. Her noble-hearted Celtic sons, like their fellow countrymen of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, hold fast their primitive traditions.

They have faced with the whole French nation conquest and invasion, reformation and revolution and have come forth conserving their individuality and crowned with glory on land and sea. Deeply religious they were ever faithful to their druidical worship until the fourth century, when the attractive truths of Christianity took them captive. And what Christians they became! Interpreting life in terms of faith and piety they have ever dwelt in a spiritual rather than in a material world.[1]

A worthy type of his race was John Baptist Mary David, the subject of the present memoir. He was born in Couëron, a small town of Brittany, on June 4, 1761. No records at hand show that the dawn of his life was marked by any striking incidents such as one loves to discover in connection with the infancy of great men. He was the first child in the home of an ideal Christian man and wife, Jean and Jeanne (Audrain) David, whose plighted love was blessed by Mother Church on August 19, 1760.

On the day of his birth their first-born son received the regenerating waters of baptism, his godfather being his mother's uncle, the Reverend John Bohnaud, vicar of St. Herblain, a town midway between Nantes and Couëron; and his godmother a cousin of his father.[2] His ancestors on both sides, honest tillers of the soil, possessed in a striking degree the characteristics of their race and were held in universal esteem especially because of their open-hearted charity.

The remarkable gifts of soul with which it pleased Providence to endow this precious child developed in a domestic atmosphere of every virtue. Very early he manifested a tender sympathy for others and the sight of any suffering became for him a personal concern. To the poor especially did his heart go out in loving kindness. Nothing delighted him more than to carry to them the alms which attracted so many to the home of his childhood. If a poor man smiled and said: "Thank you, my little one; may God bless you," the child of predilection returned home joyous and happy. He had been taught that to give to the poor was to give to *le bon Dieu;* and seldom was lesson better learned.

At a tender age he conceived the desire of devoting himself to the service of God, "of living like the good curé," he was wont to say with charming candor, "of going, like him, through the parish with a beautifully illustrated book under the arm in order to pray beneath the trees or along the hedges while the birds poured forth songs of praise to their Maker."

His good parents were overjoyed by what they considered manifestations of the Divine Spirit in him and took every care to foster them, tactfully turning his attention to whatever would contribute to fit him for so sublime a state. As school age approached the family removed to St. Herblain that he might have his reverend godfather as his first preceptor in letters. Indeed, Father Bohnaud spared no pains or time in the important work of molding the heart and mind of his precious little kinsman, destined to become a soldier of Christ, a priest of the Most High.

All the branches of study necessary to form a broad foundation for future learning were begun, special emphasis being placed on mastering the elements of French and Latin. He was instructed in music also, for which fascinating art he showed great aptitude. At once he was placed among the choir boys and later had the privilege of serving Holy Mass. So impressed was he with the excellence of this latter duty which, as he had been taught, the angels themselves would consider it an honor to perform, that

CHURCH AT COUERON, BIRTHPLACE OF BISHOP DAVID

his recollected air and general demeanor inspired the beholder with sentiments of devotion.

A time of sacrifice for his parents and himself arrived when it was necessary for him to quit the parental roof, the cherished sanctuary, where peace, piety, hospitality and charity in every form prevailed. To a large extent he was to be deprived of a mother's tender care and of the comforts and freedom of home.

The choice of a school, always a difficult problem for Christian parents in every age and country, was exceedingly so in the present instance. An intellectual pestilence had begun to pervade all France and extend far beyond its boundaries. The evil created by the philosophy of Voltaire had insidiously made its way from the upper, through the middle, to the lower classes, causing in every mind into which it entered a state of unrest, rending the entire fabric of society and robbing God of man's allegiance. This deplorable condition was immeasurably augmented by eliminating from the field of education the greatest teaching body in the Church. All the Jesuit colleges were closed in consequence of the Act of Suppression made by Pope Clement XIV.

With the extinction of the Jesuit colleges in France, young David's parents reluctantly turned to another teaching community, the Oratorians. These were founded by the saintly Cardinal de Bérulle for the purpose, as Bossuet says, of having "glisten in the Church of France the purest and most sublime lights of the Christian priesthood and the ecclesiastical life."[4] Not far from St. Herblain there was in Nantes a college noted for the high standard of its curriculum and for its excellent faculty. This was the college chosen for Jean-Baptiste. The professors were delighted to find in him a tender piety and spotless purity of soul, together with uncommon aptitude of mind, and habits of steady application which needed only guidance and moderation. No artificial stimulus was necessary for him to outstrip the best students of his class. His goodness of heart precluded all chance for petty jealousies, and made him a favorite with his schoolmates. He quickly became a leader in their sports, as well as a shining example at study and at prayer.

Happily the college was not so distant from his native town as to deprive him of the opportunity of having frequent contacts with the bliss of home life, in the course of the scholastic year. These visits were of special advantage since his was not a home of luxury which might beget effeminacy, but one of medium circumstances where virtuous parents always found means to extend a helping hand to others.

From this college he passed, after four successful, happy years, to the diocesan Seminary of Nantes. This institution was conducted in accordance with the enactments of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which required that the scholarship of all seminaries should reach a certain standard. Previous to this only the sons of the nobility and the wealthy intended for the priesthood, or those who became the beneficiaries of burses furnished by some generous patrons, were educated in colleges and universities and were known as "the Higher Clergy." Others received a training inadequate to render them competent leaders of the people in a crisis such as the Reformation presented.

Jean-Baptiste was now in the beautiful springtide of his career when his soul was blossoming into the promise of a future for which home and college life had so well prepared him. Punctuality and habits of order, common to all seminarians, were in him a second nature. He had learned to know the value of time and his sense of duty and energetic will never allowed him to procrastinate, nor did his well-balanced character permit him to act at random. His resolute and enduring nature caused him to keep constantly in sight the great object toward which he was tending.

Goodness of heart together with a frank and genial manner made him a favorite with his companions in the seminary as it had done with those at college. And for them he began to cherish a lifelong affection welcoming in later years any assurance of their successful passage through the terrible social and political upheaval which marked the early period of their priesthood. In a letter to Nantes more than a quarter of a century later he said:

> It is with singular pleasure that I go back there [to the seminary] in spirit, that I see again the corridor where we walked, the hall of exercises, the refectory, the dormitories, the passage which led to the sacristy, the chapel of the Blessed Virgin with its stucco altar, its pews and reading desk, the gallery through which we went to make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Everything is still fresh in my memory. I can never chant the hymn for All Saints without experiencing again the emotions I felt when I entered the Seminary. And the venerable priests who directed us!! Feris, Goguain, Dorin, D'Auchemail, Perron, Begougne, they were my guides, and several of them are my intercessors in heaven.
>
> I also recall with pleasure my fellow students, but their names are beginning to fade from my memory. The infamous names of Fouché and Maillecheau I can never banish. They are a

CHURCH AT COUERON, BIRTHPLACE OF BISHOP DAVID

L'ancienne Eglise

Son Emplacement – L'ancienne Eglise, un peu moins large et moins longue que l'Eglise actuelle, occupait presque le même emplacement, Cependant, le chœur s'arrêtait à l'endroit où se trouve maintenant la Sainte Table et la grande porte précédée d'un porche, s'avançait un peu plus sur la place. Le clocher, situé à gauche du chœur, abritait en haut les cloches, en bas, une sacristie.

Description – La vieille Eglise se composait d'une nef principale et d'un seul bas côté. Un immense toit d'ardoises couvrait à la fois la moitié de la grande nef et ce bas coté; il descendait jusqu'à hauteur d'homme. (a Suivre)

Son histoire. – Le 3 Juin 1401 à quatre heures du matin, un terrible ouragan, qui dura à peine un quart d'heure, s'abattit sur Couëron et les environs. Il y fit d'énormes ravages L'Eglise ne put resister à la tempête la toiture tout entiere fut enlevée, la maçonnerie elle-même eut beaucoup à souffrir. De cette antique église on ne conserva que quelques pans de murs notamment la façade principale, car en 1872 on pouvait encore voir près d'une lucarne des restes de sculpture remontant au XIII^e siècle

L'Eglise démolie en 1872 datait du commencement du 15^e siècle. Le clocher fut construit un peu plus tard, Le porche accolé à la grande porte fut édifié en 1645 par Messire Jean Ballet, curé de Couëron, comme le constatait l'inscription placée à la partie supérieure des 4 piliers qui le supportaient.

most terrible example of the frightful consequences which follow an abuse of grace.[5]

The name of Goguain mentioned in his letter is on the long list of clergymen massacred in September, 1792, for refusing to take the Constitutional Oath. To effect their scheme of overturning the monarchy, the leaders of the Revolution knew that it would be necessary to do away with the Catholic religion whose principles were opposed to all rebellion and immorality. They filled the hearts of the multitude with hatred for priests and religious, circulating the vilest calumnies and holding them up to ridicule everywhere, in theatres, in newspapers and shop-windows. Having emptied the convents and monasteries of their inmates, they proceeded to force the secular priests to swear allegiance to the new Constitution which gave to the State the power of ecclesiastic jurisdiction. The bishops and priests so appointed were forbidden to apply to the Pope for confirmation, but they might write to him as head of the Church in sign of unity. Nobly did the devoted clergy, the bishops and archbishops withstand this persecution, preferring death and exile rather than prove false to their calling. So drastic were the measures used by the revolutionists that as many as three hundred priests were massacred on a single day in one city for refusing to take the oath.[6]

Prominent among the perpetrators of those outrages was a fellow-student mentioned in that same letter. Joseph Fouché (1763-1820) was a teacher of philosophy in the Seminary of Nantes when the Revolution broke out. He entered the Revolution with enthusiasm and was remarkable for successful intrigue and for his genius for self-preservation. He voted the death of the king and instigated Robespiérre and others to plan and execute some of the fearful atrocities of the period. He advised the second abdication of Napoleon—who had made him Duke of Otranto—and after the battle of Waterloo counseled him to take refuge in the United States. Then he made himself head of the provisional government. Even after the restoration of Louis XVIII he received appointment to offices of high trust.

An evidence of the high scholarship which the seminary required of the aspirants to the priesthood was the rule that they should have obtained a bachelor's and a master's degree before entering their holy profession. Jean-Baptiste was very early in possession of both, and his piety and constancy of purpose assured his ecclesiastical superiors of the certainty of his vocation. At the age of eighteen he received tonsure at the hand of Bishop

Frétat de Sarra,[7] and four years later Minor Orders were bestowed upon him by Bishop Couet du Viviers de Lorry, of Angers.[8]

As he had not attained the canonical age, David's ordination was necessarily postponed. How should he spend the intervening time was his next concern. He had recourse to prayer, and the Divine Will was manifested to him when a wealthy citizen of Nantes seeking a tutor for his two sons applied at the seminary. Jean-Baptiste was recommended as most efficient. Glad of the opportunity for promoting God's glory and perfecting his own knowledge, he undertook the task.

Young as he was, he entered upon his duties with the earnestness which characterized all his efforts. He formed a definite plan which he faithfully carried out. Like that model preceptor, Fénelon, he believed in making study agreeable, always concealing the labor of it under the appearance of freedom and pleasure. He was practical, too, and suited his work to the future needs of his pupils, guiding carefully the natural development of their faculties.

The Scriptural passage which later he was wont to quote to those whom he was training for the ministry, he now applied to himself: "I have chosen you; and have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit should remain" (John xv, 16). His declining years were consoled by numerous proofs that the fruit did remain. In this instance, more than fifty years afterward, messages were borne to him from over the seas by his saintly friend, Bishop Flaget, assuring him of the warm affection and gratitude of these first pupils, and of the excellent Christian lives they were living.

CHAPEL OF NANTES: GRAND SEMINARY
Where Bishop David Made His Studies in Philosophy and Theology

CHAPTER II

Seminary Days (1783-1792)

While leading his young charges along the path of knowledge, David's own judgment was rapidly maturing with his sanctity, and proportionally his views of life were broadening. He realized more fully the depraved condition of the intellectual and spiritual life of a nation which for ages had held first rank in Christendom and which had always gloried in its noble achievements for Holy Church.

What power could now undo the evils of scepticism wrought by the versatile pen of Voltaire in every department of literature? How turn minds back to the Fountain of Truth and Beauty after they had been feeding on the novelties of a reconstructed society where existing laws of morality should give way to unrestrained passions? What supernatural light could penetrate the dense clouds of materialism? God's Church held the remedy for all these ills. These considerations filled David's mind and he frequently besought Heaven to place him in the holy priesthood where he could best promote the divine glory and secure his own salvation.

His inclination pointed towards entering the Society of the Sulpicians founded by Father Jean-Jacques Olier at a time of great religious revival in France when St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Jane Frances de Chantal, Blessed Louise de Marillac, St. John Baptist de la Salle and other great servants of God were inaugurating for the spiritual and corporal betterment of France, works which have since become world-wide.

Various causes influenced David to cast his lot with the Sulpicians. In the first place, he had seen demonstrated in the Seminary of Nantes what marvelous strength there is in united effort. He had besides deep admiration and affection for his former teachers, and he understood the incalculable good which they were effecting one and all by a life devoted to the training of ecclesiastics in accordance with the mind of the Church as expressed by the decrees of the Council of Trent.

Moreover, the life of Father Olier, its founder, had a peculiar fascination for him. Like David himself, Olier had from infancy been destined for the Church, and twice when he was quite a young child, St. Francis de Sales, on blessing him, predicted that

he was to do a great work in the Church. Later, others predicted the same. Two holy women, supernaturally enlightened, Marie Rousseau and Mother Agnes of Jesus, a nun of the Dominican Convent of Langeac, specified to him the nature of that work, and they themselves had chosen to become victims for its accomplishment. On his death-bed Father de Condren, a remarkably spiritual man, assured Father Olier that the object for which Cardinal de Bérulle had established the Oratorians would be carried out by a society of which he would be the founder.

Occasionally it seemed that the fulfilment of these predictions would never be verified. The dangerous period of youth did not in Olier's case pass without its attractions. His parents dazzled by his gift of oratory and other exceptional talents wished him to seek renown among the great ones of the world. But the Mother of God protected him. Even before the dawn of reason he had for her a most tender affection and a devotion almost as sensible as that which he possessed for his earthly mother. He was accustomed to go to her altar and consult her about all his childish affairs, seeking her approval or returning her thanks. When he had new clothes he presented himself to her to beg her to obtain for him the grace not to offend God while he wore them. Before study he always invoked her assistance and so dependent was he on her that he was unable to commit a difficult thing to memory unless he had said a Hail Mary. When led by an inordinate desire for intellectual fame, he proceeded to Italy to acquire such a mastery of Hebrew as would enable him to defend his thesis at the Sorbonne, the mysterious power of his heavenly Patroness completely changed his aspirations. He was stricken by a disease which threatened the loss of his sight, and he was cured by a pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Loretto.

The world and its vanities were then abandoned. His father having died, he returned to Paris, and disregarding all conventional barriers opened his home to the poor and the needy, using his own substance, time and energies to feed them in soul and in body. He also labored among the missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul, and was by him directed to enter the priesthood.

After his ordination Father Olier associated himself with Father de Condren. God sent severe trials and humiliations into his life, but He also sent friends fired with zeal for establishing a Society whose sole object would be the training of ecclesiastics. In 1641, Olier and two other priests established themselves in community life at Vaugirard, then a suburb of Paris. This formed the

ENTRANCE TO THE GRAND SEMINARY, NANTES

nucleus of the new Society, a group noted for its ability and piety. The Curé of the parish was setting out on a long vacation and entrusted to Father Olier and his compnions the care of his flock, which by their zealous exertions was soon transformed. In the heart of the metropolis was St. Sulpice, reported to be the largest and least godly parish, not only in France, but in all Christendom; its Curé, discouraged on account of its condition, asked Father Olier to undertake its renovation. Olier consented. Meanwhile several other priests and aspirants to the priesthood had joined him. His plan for the regeneration of this field shows what an administrator he was. He divided the parish into districts, established catechetical centers for every class of people, replaced immoral and heretical literature by sound and healthy books; in a word, he found a remedy for every ill. Soon a spirit of fervor prevailed. From the name of this parish the Congregation received its title Sulpician. Its rules were approved by the Holy See and it became directly dependent not on episcopal but on papal authority, as did likewise the parish of St. Sulpice.[1]

When the young Levite, Jean-Baptiste David, applied for admission into the Society, it was under the government of its ninth Superior-General, the Very Reverend James Andrew Emery, one of the earliest benefactors of the American Church, a hero of the French Revolution, and a fearless defender of the rights of the Pope against the arrogance of Napoleon. Father Emery warmly welcomed the new candidate of whose superior merit he was already aware. The place where the members are trained in the spirit and practices of the Society is known as the "Solitude" and the members as "Solitaires." David was directed to go to the Solitude of Issy, near Paris, until his priestly ordination. Throughout the required period of probation his virtue, aptitude and excellent disposition of heart were striking, and so in earnest was he that like the Divine Child he "advanced in wisdom, and age, and grace with God and men" (Luke ii, 52).

The ceremony of his ordination occurred on the feast of Our Lady of Mercy, September 24, 1785, a feast always dear to Father David, but which henceforth would be laden with precious associations, being a tie between youth and manhood, marking an event of supreme joy and overwhelming awe. Of those who were the first to sow the seeds of virtue in his tender mind, his mother only was present to witness this crowning glory of her house and to receive with sentiments of love and gratitude his priestly blessing. Length of days was her portion, for she lived until 1806, having long survived her first husband and contracted a second marriage

with Charles Herbon. Just a week before the happy event of his ordination, September 17, David's uncle and godfather, the Reverend Jean-Baptiste Bohnaud, who had with so much tender care directed his early studies, passed rich in merit to his eternal reward. To his inspiration, holy prayers and words of encouragement Father David was no doubt indebted for the great success attending every step of preparation for ordination. Father Bohnaud had faithfully exercised the sacred functions of the ministry in St. Herblain, his native town, under three successive rectors and had held the benefice of St. Elaupin; and finally was laid to rest there in its God's acre.

Shortly after his ordination Father David was appointed to the chair of philosophy in the Seminary of Angers. The Sulpicians had two seminaries at Angers: *le grand,* where the theologians finished their course; and *le petit,* or the preparatory. To the latter Father David was assigned.

With active mind, brave heart and zealous soul he entered on his great work as an educator. Deeply had he partaken in meditations of "the waters of wisdom" and freely did his disciples now receive from him a vigor, an enlightenment such as few masters could give. He inflamed their hearts with an ardent love for study and elevated their souls to the heights to which he was ever tending. The glance of his eye or the sound of his voice was to them an inspiration. He became in turn professor of Holy Scripture and Theology, and he showed at every step a depth, a balance, an expression which made him even then an authority on some points among his fellow-professors, and on all among his disciples. Not on human talent but on prayer did he depend for the remarkable success with which these early efforts met. He was always a teacher by example as well as by precept.

Peaceful days of fruitful labor came and went. In the fourth year, a professor of Dogmatic Theology at Nantes was appointed superior at Angers, and before leaving Nantes he requested that a young priest for whom he had conceived a tender friendship should accompany him and become *économe* at Angers. This was Benedict Joseph Flaget who now for the first time came into the life of Father David. Similar tastes, ideas and aspirations begot in them a friendship which the trials and joys and labors shared in common for more than half a century welded so firmly that the name of the one suggests that of the other. Providence ordained that their work should be so interwoven that each seemed indispensable to the other. It would be useless to attempt a com-

ORNAMENT IN THE CHANCEL OF THE CHAPEL, GRAND SEMINARY, NANTES

parison of their characters. Both were gentle, holy souls whose mutual affection and reverence show that God would have them lay together the foundations of Catholicism in the heart of the American continent and make of Kentucky in their day a radiant point of the faith that enlivens and quickens, that heeds no sacrifice, counts no cost.

The gentle current of academic life at Angers was rudely terminated in 1790 by the revolutionary forces. Communism had reached the height of its power in France. To the cry of "Liberty and Equality" legions of followers responded, determined to level all things to their standards. Flight and the guillotine threatened to strip the land of every semblance of virtue and learning. The temples of God and the shrines of learning were converted into arsenals and barracks. The churches became prisons for the clergy and for all supporters or sympathizers in the cause of religion or of royalty. From there, with no other offense to their charge, they were daily conveyed to mock trials and then hastened to the guillotine. When the Seminary of Angers was attacked, professors and students escaped with their lives and sought refuge wherever it could be found.

A family of Angers gave hospitality to Father David, while Father Flaget fled to the home of his relations in Auvergne. They both vainly hoped that the fury of the Revolution would soon abate. They besought God to have mercy on their bleeding country. At last, seeing no cessation of the rage of the revolutionists and realizing that they were imperiling the lives of their protectors as well as their own, they turned their minds towards the rising Church of America. It seems that without any communication with each other, they reached the same conclusion and confided their desires to the Superior-General, the Very Reverend Father Emery.[2]

The Sulpician superiors feared that the ruin of so many of their seminaries would be followed by the complete destruction of their work. They began therefore to consider the transfer of their members to some other country. Naturally they turned their minds to the western continent, where at Montreal they had already established a seminary, and where in the Scioto district of Ohio a settlement of French royalists was being planned.[3]

Before taking action as to the destination of his Society, Father Emery consulted the papal nuncio at Paris, the future Cardinal Dugnani. This happily resulted in negotiations with Bishop Carroll who was then delayed in London after his consecration for the See of Baltimore. It was agreed that a colony of Sulpicians

should leave for the United States on April 8, 1791. The group consisted of some of the ablest priests in Europe, heads of seminaries, men capable of holding the reins of church government anywhere, of conducting educational institutions, or of facing death itself in behalf of souls and the furthering of God's glory. They were the Reverend F. C. Nagot, Superior; Reverend Michael Levadoux, Director of the Seminary of Limoges; Reverend J. Tessier, Director of the Seminary of Viviers; Reverend A. Garnier, Director of the Seminary of Lyons; with Messrs. Tulloh and John Floyd, natives of England; Edward Caldwell, an American; Perrineau, a Canadian; and Jean de Montdésir, as seminarians.[4] On the same vessel in which they embarked was Chateaubriand, who was later to become famous. He was twenty years of age, alert to everything of interest, and conscious of his superior gifts. The five months which he spent in America, "the western wilderness," stored his poetic mind with a wealth of imagery and furnished material for his *Voyage en Amérique*.

The Sulpicians were supplied with books and vestments, as well as with money sufficient for their transportation and for their establishment in the new country. Moreover, it was stipulated that Bishop Carroll would be free to employ them as missionaries, parish priests, chaplains or in any other capacity of the ministry until conditions made it possible for them to devote themselves exclusively to the object of their institute. Such was the gift of Superior-General Emery to the infant Church in America, a body of ecclesiastics who "were the best-trained educators of candidates for the priesthood to be found in Europe," and who "combined fervent zeal for the Catholic faith with polished and agreeable manners, great tact, and the absence of all aggressiveness."

Father Emery gladly consented to the proposition of Fathers David and Flaget to go to America. Without previous arrangement they met at Bordeaux on November 3, 1791, and set sail in the same vessel. Another young and zealous levite destined for great labors in America was there ready to embark. This was Stephen Theodore Badin, who was in minor orders and who, together with the Superior of the Seminary of Orleans, Father Chicoisneau, a Sulpician, was fleeing from France in order to avoid possible complications with his bishop who had taken the Constitutional Oath.[5] Bishop Jarente of Orleans was one of the four out of one hundred and thirty-five archbishops and bishops who had the weakness to yield to the base demands of the revolutionists.[6]

Father David bade farewell to his native land with mingled feelings of shame and grief for its degradation. He was leaving to

VERY REV. JAMES ANDREW EMERY
Ninth Superior General of St. Sulpice, by Whom Bishop David Was Received into the Society

an uncertain fate persons strongly bound to him by the ties of blood and friendship, but he fearlessly confided them to the care of Him without whose knowledge not even a sparrow falls unnoticed to the ground. Often, no doubt, during the period of his concealment he had ventured at the risk of his life to render them some spiritual service. Of these instances his humility never permitted him to speak, and seldom did he refer to the terrible atrocities which he had witnessed.

On the voyage he planned with earnest hope a life of great usefulness; and in order that he might enter upon it with the least possible delay he applied himself to mastering the English language. Sea sickness interfered but later under the guidance of Father Garnier he was so successful that four months after his arrival in America he preached in English and had the satisfaction of learning later that not only was he understood, but that he had actually impressed his congregation.[7]

CHAPTER III

The Maryland Mission (1792-1811)

Released from the grasp of England, America was breathing the breath of a glorious freedom and infusing it into every institution in the land. Nowhere were the invigorating effects more gratefully felt than in the Catholic Church, which suffered through penal legislation. The spirit of religious intolerance which established laws against the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland found its way into the ruling of the Colonies, fed the flame of hatred in the French and Indian War, and transformed into a realm of strife and peril the beautiful land where those fleeing from persecution in Europe hoped to find a haven of peace.

Fortunately, long-tried patriots were determined to brook no longer the infringements of their rights. They brought England's rule to a speedy end, and by the Declaration of 1776 gave the nation independence. More than a decade of years from this event, the Church was organized with its own bishop, with a zealous clergy to be perpetuated by immigration and by the work of the Sulpicians[1] and with a people to whom suffering had taught the value of their Faith and the necessity of preserving it.

After a tedious voyage of three months, the little band of reverend exiles reached Philadelphia, March 26, 1792. What must have been their gratitude on beholding the land of their adoption! What their self surrender! Little did they dream of the great and lasting work which they were destined to accomplish! Abandoning themselves to Divine Providence they had no fear for the future.

Setting out immediately for Baltimore, they arrived late in the evening of the twenty-eighth, but deferred calling on Bishop Carroll until the next morning. They had advanced but a short distance, when they saw him approaching to welcome them. On attempting to apologize for their delay in coming, he put them at their ease by the gracious remark: "Gentlemen, you have traveled fifteen hundred leagues to meet me, and surely it was as little as I could do to walk a few squares to see you."

The Bishop's heart was filled with gratitude for the valuable gift which had come to the American Church in the persons of the group before him. In letters from the Superior-General, Father Emery, he had been told of their merit, which now his own

discerning eye perceived. To Father David, who was quick to comprehend and prompt to respond, he naturally directed the conversation and spoke of that district of Maryland, Upper and Lower Zacchia, where several difficult English-speaking congregations, St. Peter's, Mattawoman, Waldorf and Bryantown, had once been ministered to by the Jesuits, but which in recent years had been totally neglected. The Bishop immediately assigned this section to Father David. It was necessary for Father Flaget to remain in Baltimore until the following May, when, having acquired some practical knowledge of the language and customs of the country, he went to take charge of Post Vincennes, then a French settlement in the interior of the country.

Fully a century before, Post Vincennes had been peopled by a colony, chiefly of Catholics, who were attended at intervals by Jesuit missionaries, then by Father Gibault of the Quebec diocese, from Kaskaskia, Illinois. For three years previous to Father Flaget's arrival they were without spiritual assistance and their lamp of faith had grown dim. Though he set out from Baltimore in May, Father Flaget did not reach his destination until Christmas, having been detained at Pittsburgh until the Ohio became navigable. While waiting he found opportunities for exercising his zeal in behalf of the sick and of some convicts.

Vincennes was a congregation of seven hundred souls, but of these only twelve were willing to approach the Sacraments. Father Flaget was not disheartened, for he knew he could reach the parents through the children, and accordingly he opened a school. He taught the little ones their religion chiefly by means of catechising and singing. The result, as he had anticipated, was that the people entered freely into his plans, regarding him not only as their pastor, but as their father, teacher and judge. Their spiritual growth was such that on leaving them two years later, he had the consolation of knowing that there were hardly twelve who did not frequent the Sacraments.[2]

Bishop Carroll reluctantly withdrew Father Flaget from so fruitful a mission, but his services were required in a much more important field. Georgetown College, the present great university, was not sufficiently manned. This institution originated at the same meeting of the clergy at Whitemarsh, November 13, 1786, which petitioned the Holy See to appoint a bishop for the United States.[3] The thought emanated from the Prefect-Apostolic, the Reverend Dr. John Carroll,[4] who had discovered that the professions of liberty and religious equality made on all sides

did not apply to the educational institutions supported by the State. The spirit of colonial days manifested itself constantly in the teachers and in the text-books, so that for Catholic children to attend these schools was to humiliate them and imperil their faith.

Soon Georgetown College became a reality, but the Bishop not being able to entrust it, as he desired, to the Jesuits, on account of the suppression, selected for its faculty the best qualified among his clergy. Father Du Bourg, a Sulpician, later successively Bishop of New Orleans, of Montauban, and Archbishop of Besançon, France, was its president when Father Flaget assumed the duties of vice-president and general disciplinarian. The latter often referred with pleasure to the honor of having met George Washington twice during this brief period, the first time, when the faculty in a body paid the President a complimentary visit, and again when the Father of his Country returned the visit.[5]

Meanwhile on May 25, 1793, Stephen Theodore Badin, who has the distinction of being the first priest ordained in the United States, received Holy Orders at the hands of Bishop Carroll. Young as he was, he was assigned to the vast mission of Kentucky.

Father David's field of labor was Charles County, Maryland, known as Upper and Lower Zacchia. It was then, as now, practically all Catholic, but the people were scattered over an extensive area where poor roads and poorer means of travel made a missioner's life one of extreme hardship. After two and a half months spent in the seminary, Father David took up his abode at St. Thomas Manor near Port Tobacco, and entered upon his work. The severity of a new climate, the fatigue of traveling and his unrelenting efforts to serve his flock were more than his physical strength could endure. An attack of fever in the autumn incapacitated him for three months. On his recovery he began with renewed zeal and increased devotedness. The people recognizing what a treasure they had in their new pastor, provided him a house and eighty-seven acres of land. There in Bryantown he erected a church no sign of which remains today. The site is now the resting place of his beloved parishioners over many of whom he poured the regenerating waters of baptism or for whom he often broke the Bread of Life, a pledge of that resurrection which they are awaiting. Not far distant appear now new buildings, church, rectory, convent and schools for white and colored with lands extending far and wide, all bearing marks of progress. It is a credit to its present pastor, whose industry and ingenuity

have made it a model country parish. The "Register" begun by Father David is still preserved. It is a large book of unruled paper without pagination. The first entry in the baptismal register is dated March 3, 1793, when Father David baptized "Ann Rachel born the 2nd day of January, daughter of Alain Shettleworth and Anne, his wife; Godmother, Rody Obryan." His first entry in the marriage register was February 10, 1793. "John Butler and Elizabeth Proctor with dispensation of the impediment of Consanguinity in the first degree."[6]

On alternate Sundays he ministered to his flock in the church at Waldorf and that at Bryantown, and on week days he offered the Holy Sacrifice and attended to the spiritual needs of the others in seven private homes far distant from one another, reaching each on horse once every two months.

Spalding says concerning these missions:

> On his arrival among them, he found the congregations cold and negligent of their Christian duties; he left them fervent and exemplary. Piety everywhere revived; the children and servants made their First Communion; the older members of the congregation became regular communicants. Few that were instructed by him could soon forget their duty, so great was the impression he left and so thorough was the course of instruction he gave. To the portion of Maryland where he thus signalized his zeal, he bequeathed a rich and abundant legacy of spiritual blessings which was destined to descend from generation to generation: and the good people of those parts still exhibit traces of his zeal, and still pronounce his name with reverence and gratitude.(7)

Besides preaching, catechising, administering the Sacraments, visiting and consoling the sick and the dying, and discharging other works of the holy ministry, he gave his congregation four spiritual retreats a year. The first was for the benefit of the married men, the second for the married women, and the third and fourth for the boys and girls. For each he had a separate set of instructions, adapted to their respective needs. To Father David belongs the credit of introducing into this country so excellent a means of awakening the soul to a proper sense of its relation to God.[8]

In a book entitled *A Spiritual Retreat of Eight Days* are contained the exercises which Father David used for his congregations in Maryland. It is a volume four and a half by seven inches, and contains three hundred and seven pages (Louisville, 1864).

The meditations which are twenty-four in number are based on those of St. Ignatius Loyola. The compiler, Bishop Spalding, wished to perpetuate the influence of Bishop David's spiritual direction by thus giving to the laity, as well as to religious, this means of drawing closer to God. He precedes the Introduction by a brief biographical sketch of the author and follows it by Bishop David's "Method of Mental Prayer," and "Additional Recommendations." The Appendix contains Bishop David's "Manual of the Religious Life," which he wrote especially for the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, but which can be used with profit by all religious. His plan was to have the Manual consist of four parts, but he had reached only the second part of this, his last labor of love, when his death occurred.

Bishop David's appreciation of the advantage of spiritual retreats especially when they are given by the Jesuit Fathers is expressed by the following extract from a letter to a student at the Propaganda in Rome:

> What you tell me about your retreats and the zealous Fathers who give them is in perfect accord with what I have often thought of them. It seems to me that the retreat of Manresa has produced an inexhaustible fountain, that through the little golden book has poured and will pour for ages abundant streams of those waters which spring up into eternal life. Those who have professed the art of giving retreats in a fruitful manner have learned it from that book and from those appointed to unfold the treasures enclosed in it. But I am perfectly convinced with you in the opinion that these good Fathers are truly the men who, as children of the great parent, have inherited the true spirit and the real method of making them productive of the most abundant fruit of grace and salvation. I long for the time when we shall be allowed to enjoy that benediction in our seminary and convents. . . . I have always desired to have one of them [the Fathers] for the ordinary confessor of my Sisters of Nazareth. But you know these good Fathers are like their Divine Master whose name characterizes them, *Signum cui contradicetur.* I return to the subject of retreats. I consider it, as you do, as one of the most effectual means of producing a lasting effect in souls. I never saw a true renovation of fervor in the congregations I governed in Maryland until I began to give them retreats, and it was chiefly by a Jesuit author, to wit: Father Battior, that I was directed in the plan of these exercises. . . . I conjure you to learn it [the method] as perfectly as you can, to fit yourself to give it here

in our seminary, college and convents, and even to the faithful of the congregation.[9]

True shepherd as he was of his flock, the stray sheep were objects of Father David's special interest. He pursued them in season and out of season, and led them in his tactful way into the midst of the fold. All hearts were open to him; he could sway them as he willed, because they recognized in him a father and a friend. Great was their grief when after twelve years of zealous and kindly guidance he was taken from them. Spalding says that forty years afterwards, his room at St. Mary's, Bryantown, was pointed out with reverence by the older inhabitants.

Varied and abundant was the consolation which, as it were, in compensation for his sacrifices Heaven vouchsafed him. For instance, among the women who attended his spiritual retreats several prepared themselves for that higher life which demands the renouncing of earthly goods and the relinquishing of family ties. Five of these he directed to embrace the austere rule of the Carmelites. A convent of this contemplative order was established in 1790 at Port Tobacco. The prioress, Mother Bernardine Matthews, was an American lady who entered the order in Belgium, and when the emperor decreed the suppression of the houses in the Netherlands, came with several nuns to found the first Carmelite convent in America. Bishop Carroll regarded these religious as a safeguard for the preservation of his immense diocese. In a letter to Father Roque of Montreal (1761-1840), a fellow Sulpician whose friendship he had formed at Angers, Father David expresses high esteem for the prioress. His regard for the order may be seen by the fact that when he left Maryland ten of its members owed their vocation to his influence and direction.

In 1804, Bishop Carroll called him from the missionary to the educational field, placing him as professor of philosophy in the faculty of Georgetown College. The Superior-General, Father Emery, hearing of this appointment, signalized the wish that Father David be transferred to the seminary. The object of the Society of St. Sulpice is the training of ecclesiastics, one of the hardest and most important works of the ecclestiastical life. In giving the Sulpicians to the United States Father Emery consented to a departure from this object, because of the scarcity of priests in the new country. When the Concordat between the Papacy and Napoleon opened an opportunity for re-establishing seminaries in the different dioceses of France, he decided to with-

draw the Sulpicians from the United States. He feared that the spirit of the Society would be lost, if its members engaged in missionary work; and the more so since St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, had not prospered. He was deterred from carrying out his purpose by the pleadings of Bishop Carroll to leave at least a seed of the Society that "in God's own time would yield fruit," and by the counsel of Pope Pius VII: "My son, let it stand, let that seminary stand. It will bear fruit in its own time."[10]

Father David took up his duties in St. Mary's Seminary, and although his health was somewhat impaired by his missionary labors in Charles County, his industry was unceasing. The weekly conferences for externs which he held in the chapel of the seminary were largely attended. Master of the spiritual life that he was, he readily recognized religious vocations, fostered them tenderly, and placed the fortunate possessors where the fruitage would be abundant. Among these was Mother Galway, Vicar of the Missouri Province of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. She had been trained by him in the ascetical life before she entered religion, and to that training was attributed her efficiency to hold the office of Mother Assistant.[11] Others who had the advantage of his wise and saintly direction at this period, became valuable members of various Sisterhoods and especially of that which he founded later in Kentucky.

Another office given to Father David was that of chaplain to Charles Carroll of Carrollton. This distinguished statesman and Signer of the Declaration of Independence was a warm friend and generous benefactor of the Sulpician Fathers. He donated to them the "St. Mary's plot" at Ellicott City, for St. Charles college, sent them the plans for the college, together with a sum of money to aid in its erection, and had it incorporated by the Maryland legislature. After retiring from political life the venerable statesman spent a beautiful old age in his ancestral manor of Doughoregan. Here his grandfather, who in 1688 had emigrated from Ireland to enjoy religious freedom in Catholic Maryland, had built a chapel especially designed for unmolested private worship, because public worship was forbidden Catholics.[12]

In connection with this chaplaincy Father David recalled many pleasant incidents. Among them was the following relative to health and longevity. The statesman, who lived to the age of ninety-four, having been asked how he preserved himself in such

excellent health, replied: "I always leave the table hungry." Father David himself years afterwards when similarly questioned often answered: "I always have my physician with me," and to the query, "Who is the physician?" "Hunger,"[13] was the response. He, too, attained a ripe old age, rounding out four score years. Father David's name is among those who urged Bishop Carroll to choose the present site for the Cathedral of Baltimore, in preference to the cemetery which was being excavated for the purpose of locating it there.[14]

His vigorous intellect, sympathetic heart and energetic will, caused him to be thought of when in 1805 a difficult post was to be filled. Two years previous to this date the United States had purchased the territory of Louisiana from Napoleon. Many disorders among the clergy and people prevailed there, owing partly to the fact that the episcopal see had been vacant since 1801, when Bishop Louis Peñalver y Cardenas was transferred to the metropolitan see of Guatemala. There were two claimants to the office of vicar general, which gave rise to much scandal, even to temporary schism. Pope Pius VII, to settle the difficulties, transferred the jurisdiction of Louisiana from the Spanish to the American Church, and gave the administration of the diocese to the Bishop of Baltimore.

Bishop Carroll considered that the most effectual means of restoring harmony, of bringing order out of the chaos, was to place a resident bishop in New Orleans. He wrote, November 17, 1806, to Secretary of State James Madison, with whom he had previously conferred regarding the needs of the Church in the new territory, stating that among his priests were two Frenchmen highly qualified for the position and firm in their allegiance to the American government. He made known his views to Rome, recommending especially Father David as one who could handle the problems of the difficult position. But the mitre had no attraction for the humble priest who, on hearing of these negotiations, promptly refused to accept the prospective honor.[15]

A few years later Bishop Carroll petitioned Rome a second time to divide the Diocese of Baltimore, whose vast territory was daily growing more populous and whose needs were proportionately increasing. Everything pointed toward Father David's being a candidate for one of the four contemplated sees. However, while Bishop Carroll was deliberating on suitable nominees, he was visited by Father Badin, who for more than fifteen years had been laboring, often single-handed, in the vast

western territory. He had come to give an account of his stewardship, and when questioned, he gave as his opinion that Father Flaget's experience at Post Vincennes qualified him above all others for the western see. Father Badin also recommended Bardstown as a better location for the see than either Frankfort or Lexington, which Bishop Carroll had preferred. Both suggestions were favorably received and Bishop Carroll wrote to the Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda recommending Father Flaget in the following terms:

> For several years he was stationed at a place called Post Vincennes, lying between the waters of the Ohio and the lakes of Canada; where with the greatest industry and the most hearty good will of all, he labored in promoting piety, until to my regret, he was recalled to fill some office in the seminary. He is at least forty years of age, of a most tender piety towards God, of most bland manners; and if not profoundly, at least sufficiently imbued with theological knowledge.[16]

Father Flaget was at Emmitsburg when on September 8, 1808, the news of his appointment reached him from Rome. Overwhelmed at the thought of his inefficiency for such a responsibility, he set out for Baltimore to unburden his heart to his brethren there. One of the first whom he met, on reaching the seminary, was Father David, his confessor and spiritual director. While deploring an appointment to such an office and to a place so remote from the company in which he had hoped to spend his life, Father Flaget remarked: "Had I even one of my brethren to go with me, it would not be so hard." "Oh! let not that disturb you," said Father David, "I am your man."[17]

Much relief must have come to Father Flaget from so generous an offer, but his opposition was too deeply imbedded in humility to be readily removed. He opened his heart to all his brethren of the seminary, and their deep compassion for him caused them to join him in a novena of prayer and fasting that "the chalice might pass." At the end of the nine days, a delegation headed by the Superior, the Very Reverend Father Nagot, went to Archbishop Carroll, requesting him to change the appointment, adding they had prayed before coming. "What, gentlemen," said he, "you have prayed! Think you, then, that before proposing your brother, I did not pray, and that the Cardinals who surrounded the Holy Father, and the Sovereign Pontiff himself did not pray? Well, I tell you plainly that Father Flaget must accept."[18]

The Archbishop, it seems, communicated this circumstance to

the Holy Father and also to the Superior-General of the Sulpicians, in France. Even yet the bishop-elect could not persuade himself that he was God's choice. He poured out his feelings in a letter to Father Emery, the Superior-General, confident that he would receive sympathy from one who had three times refused as many bishoprics, rather than "abandon the cause of his Society all broken up and dispersed."[19] On receiving no reply he set out for France, with the approval of his brethren, that he might see Father Emery personally. What was his disappointment on arriving, to be greeted with the words: "My Lord Bishop, you should have been already in your Diocese! The Pope has given you an express order to accept; I can, if you wish, show you his commands."

There was no further appeal, since the highest power had spoken. He bowed his neck to the yoke. Seeing his humble submission, Father Emery laid aside his unwonted sternness. It had sprung from the embarrassment which he feared this prolonged resistance might have occasioned the Pope and the Archbishop. He had, in fact, answered Father Flaget's letter and had also written to Archbishop Carroll, but the uncertain conditions of the times caused a delay in transmission. The following is his letter to the Archbishop, dated May 18, 1809:

> *My Lord:* I have heard from Rome of the nomination of M. Flaget for the Bishopric of Kentucky. I am in correspondence with a Dominican there who is interested in the beatification of a religious of his order [the Venerable Mother Agnes] in whom St. Sulpice is also interested, and he asked me to recommend to M. Flaget the religious of St. Dominic who are in his diocese. No doubt, my Lord, you mentioned to the Court of Rome the fact that M. Flaget is a member of St. Sulpice, hence the Dominicans asked me to write to him. Perhaps, too, the same fact had weight in his selection as Bishop, because the Holy Father is most favorably inclined towards St. Sulpice and towards me personally, knowing our loyalty to the Holy See. However, since the choice was made after you gave information concerning all the candidates, you are right to regard the decision as a mark of Divine Providence, and, if you persevere in so regarding it, I shall not hesitate to tell him to submit, and he will do it.
>
> All negotiations now entered into with the Holy See are necessarily delayed, and even communications with the United States are held only at a risk. It is well that the Church there be thoroughly established, as yours will probably be the country where Catholicity will flourish. . . . I am not surprised

at the extreme repugnance which Father Flaget has for the episcopacy. He writes me that the first news nearly caused his death, and that, indeed, he would have died, had not his brethren assured him that he could in conscience refuse. I beg you, my Lord, since you are his lawful superior in that part of the world, and since you have procured for him the episcopacy, that you be to him a father, a guide and a counsellor; you will find in him the greatest docility.[20]

Emery wrote again on December 30, 1809:

My Lord, I enter fully into your views and do not at all approve of M. Flaget's voyage to France. I realize, perhaps more keenly than you, the inconvenience it may entail. An exaggerated idea of the needs of the college has led to this act. I do not approve of our gentlemen's consenting to it, and still less, if they suggested it. It is doubtful that we can give him the missionaries he desires, and, like you, I fear he will encounter obstacles in returning. Everything is so changeable, so uncertain. Notwithstanding my disapproval, we have received M. Flaget well, and we shall favor as far as possible the purposes which have brought him to France.[21]

The greatest gift which the Bishop-elect received from his superior, and which he regarded an infinitely precious one, was the permission to accept Father David's proffered services. Of all the members of the Society whom he had sent to the United States, Father Emery valued Father David the highest.[22] He knew, too, that Archbishop Carroll, who was deeply attached to him because of the wonderful good he wrought in souls, would be reluctant to part with him. He prepared the Archbishop for the sacrifice by the following announcement:

I know that M. Flaget will have need in the beginning, of some one to cheer and sustain him, M. David seems the most suitable but is he not indispensable in your Seminary? The dearth here is so great that I have no one to replace him, hence his absence can be only temporary. I hope when M. Flaget has overcome his timidity, and has discovered that the difficulties are not so great as he anticipates, he will be able to walk alone, or find among the Dominicans in his Diocese some worthy of his confidence.[23]

Meanwhile Father David awaited the decision of his superior with that indifference which befits one who has abandoned himself to the will of Divine Providence. He wrote Father Emery on September 7, 1809:

> Although, my very dear Father, I am perfectly satisfied here, yet I am willing, if you judge proper, to accompany my Lord, my friend, my brother, to his Diocese. While there are many ties attaching me to Baltimore, friendship attaches me very strongly to his person. I try to be indifferent. Obedience alone shall decide whether I shall go or stay, for I fully understand that it alone can make me enjoy peace of heart wherever I may be.[24]

What a wealth of heroism is often found in hidden lives, which go on like the stream in the woodlands refreshing, invigorating, delighting the weary traveler, which go on like the Master in Israel seeking the lowly, lifting up the sinner, ever enlightening and leading to the Home beyond! So seems the life of Father David, varied, it is true, but hidden. Only at certain angles is its heroism visible. And this is one, his readiness to quit a work for which he was eminently fitted by taste and by training in order to go into a land abounding in hardships, with the motive of strengthening and supporting a disheartened friend and thereby contributing to the success of the Church in the West under the administration of its first ordinary. His self-effacement left all to the decision of his superior.

CHAPTER IV

Superior at Emmitsburg (1811)

An office of great responsibility, and one dear to the heart of Bishop Carroll, that of superior of the infant Institute of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, was assigned to Father David before he set out for Kentucky. The story of Mrs. Seton and her work will always be an attractive page in American Church history. Born on the eve of the Revolution, she passed her childhood in the midst of momentous historical events.

A plain English education, such as was given in the New York schools of those days, was supplemented in her case by a home atmosphere of culture and refinement, by the advantage of good reading and the companionship of an enlightened father, Dr. Richard Bayley. He filled for her the place of both parents as she lost her mother at the age of three. Sympathy for the poor and the suffering, and a spirit of sacrifice were easily developed in a nature such as hers, and under circumstances singularly favorable.[1]

At the age of twenty, she married William Magee Seton, a young New York merchant. After a few years of happy wedded life, she was left a widow with five children. Her husband's friends, the Filicchi brothers, prosperous merchants of Leghorn, Italy, became her benefactors in spiritual and in temporal matters. Through them she obtained a knowledge of the Catholic faith, and, like the man in the Gospel, sold all that she might purchase it. She entered the Catholic Church in March, 1805. "Ash Wednesday, March 14, 1805," is the date given by herself in her *Journal,* her letters and other writings and also by many of her biographers, but, as Ash Wednesday of that year fell on February 27, there is evidently a chronological error. This is discussed by the Reverend C. L. Souvay in a paper captioned *Queries Anent Mother Seton's Conversion* in Vol. V, p. 223 of the *Catholic Historical Review.* After her conversion she was barred from all intercourse by her relations, and as her husband's fortunes had been wrecked previous to his death, she was practically destitute.

Her good Italian friends came to her relief, bestowing on her an annual allowance and assuming the expense of educating her two sons in Georgetown College. She herself opened a school

on the outskirts of New York, then a small city. This brought her slight remuneration, and she contemplated becoming a member of the faculty of a Montreal convent, where she hoped to have her three little daughters educated. But several churchmen, whose interest in her welfare the Filicchis had secured, did not favor her leaving the United States.

Just then it happened that the Reverend William Du Bourg, President of St. Mary's College, Maryland, met her, and, recognizing the special designs of God in her regard, urged her to open a school for Catholics in Baltimore. She consented and reached that city on the Feast of Corpus Christi, June 15, 1808. It was the occasion of the dedication of the Seminary church, and all the ardor of her deeply religious nature was quickened on witnessing the inspiring ceremonies.

Her new residence was located near the Seminary where her heart and soul were furnished with every spiritual comfort and where a delightful social intercourse renewed her life and energies. To Mrs. Duplex, a friend, she wrote concerning the happy change:

> You will be much surprised, dearest, to hear we are no longer in New York. We removed to Baltimore the middle of June, and I find the difference of situation so great that I can scarcely believe it is the same existence. All those dear attentions of human life which I was entirely weaned from, are now my daily portion from the family of Mr. Du Bourg, whose sister and mother are unwearied in their care of us. We are treated as a part of their family, and in every respect my condition is that of a new being. The fence of our boundary is the only division from a beautiful chapel which is open from daylight until nine at night. . . . We are away from all to whom we are allied by natural affection, aliens to our nearest connections and seeking bread among strangers in one sense of the word, but not strangers in kindness or love. Madame Fournier, the sister of our superior, assists me in all the little cares for my children. There is also a branch of the Barry family here, who are as kind to us as was our dear Mrs. Barry in New York. Mrs. Barry and her husband omit nothing that generosity or kindness can dictate, and I do not fear that they will be wearied in their attentions, because I know the principle on which they act. You would be pleased to see our good old Bishop Carroll when he is in the midst of us—of all his children, as he calls us.[2]

Mrs. Seton determined to consecrate her entire life to the teaching of poor children. Under Father Du Bourg's guidance

and with Bishop Carroll's approval, the school was opened in the fall of 1808. The number of pupils surpassed her expectations. Fortunately, a few other ladies, well qualified to teach, soon joined her.

In the spring of 1809, Father Du Bourg, seeing a sufficient number banded together in the interests of the children and their own sanctification, thought it opportune to realize his plan of forming a religious organization. With his assistance, a code of rules was drawn up and Mother Seton made formal vows in the presence of Bishop Carroll. The little band assumed a uniform dress consisting of a black gown and cape and a white cap and, at Mother Seton's suggestion, were, for the time, designated Sisters of Saint Joseph.

While they were deliberating on the location of the new community, Providence decided the matter by sending them a benefactor. This was Samuel Southerland Cooper who like herself was a convert from Protestantism and the story of whose life is like hers, filled with interest. In his youth he was wealthy, handsome and a devotee of fashion. Engaging later in commercial pursuits he amassed still greater wealth, and as a shipping merchant for years enjoyed all legitimate pleasures of land and sea. On one occasion while employed in the affairs of his office in England a miraculous voice impelled him to seek for the true Church and to enter its communion. Obedient to the command, he immediately made that quest the chief object of his life. He investigated the teachings of sect after sect until one Sunday he attended the Adorable Sacrifice at St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia. At the Elevation the experience which he had at the office in England was repeated.

He sought instruction, was received into the Church, and in 1808 began his studies for the priesthood at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. A generous contributor to every form of charity, he had an especial desire to give toward the instruction of poor children. He made known his desire to his director, Father Du Bourg, and thus an avenue was opened towards aiding Mrs. Seton in the work she had so much at heart. The munificent gift of eight thousand dollars made possible the purchase of the site and the erection of the Mother House at Emmitsburg, a little town sixty miles from Baltimore, and then a flourishing Catholic center.[3]

When the little community arrived at Emmitsburg in the summer of 1809, their buildings were not yet completed; so Father Dubois, president of Mount St. Mary's Seminary, and later Bishop

LOUIS GUILLAUME VALENTIN DUBOURG,
NÉ LE 14 FÉVRIER 1766 AU CAP FRANÇAIS,
ÎLE ST DOMINGUE, PRÊTRE DE LA COMPA-
GNIE DE ST SULPICE, DIRECTEUR DU
COLLÈGE DE BALTIMORE, ADMINIS-
TRATEUR DU DIOCÈSE DE LA
NOUVELLE ORLÉANS ÉVÊQUE
DE LA LOUISIANE EN 1815
REVENU EN FRANCE EN
1826, NOMMÉ A L'ÉVÊCHÉ
DE MONTAUBAN; TRANS-
FÉRÉ EN 1833 A L'AR-
CHEVÊCHÉ DE BESANÇON,
INSTALLÉ LE 10 OCTOBRE
ET MORT A BESANÇON LE
12 DÉCEMBRE 1833.

MGR. DU BOURG
Confrère of Bishop David

of New York, vacated the log house on the mountain side and gave it to them as a temporary convent. Here they were when Father David took up his work as superior of their spiritual and temporal affairs, Father Du Bourg having resigned for important duties elsewhere. Father David executed faithfully the directions of Bishop Carroll and his own superior. He saw every indication that the group of ten would grow into a great Sisterhood and become a valuable factor in the Church of America, hence a more definite organization was necessary.

Bishop Carroll and the Sulpician superiors of St. Joseph's, in casting about for the rules to be adopted by their protegés, had concluded, that with some modifications, the rules of the Daughters of Charity, founded by St. Vincent de Paul, would best meet their needs. When, therefore, M. Flaget, after his promotion to the See of Bardstown, visited France, he was requested to obtain for St. Joseph's a copy of the Constitutions which St. Vincent de Paul had drawn up for his foundation.[4]

The moving into the new building, the present beautiful site of St. Joseph's College and Academy, the opening of the day school, and later of the boarding school, the religious instruction of the pupils, and the training of the members in their new state of life, were matters in which Father David took an active part; but the most delicate duty was that of spiritual direction, made doubly so on account of the attachment of several to their late confessor, Father Babad. In a letter to Bishop Carroll, dated August 6, 1809, Mother Seton says:

> Yet, as you are truly our Father, it cannot be right to conceal from you that both myself and Sisters have been greatly chagrined by a letter received from our Superior, soon after I came here, which required me, not only myself to give up a correspondence with a person in whom I have the most confidence, and to whom I am indebted for my greatest spiritual advantage, but also to eradicate as far as possible from the minds of the Sisters that confidence and attachment they all have for him. Sister Rose and Kittie Mullen are the only ones who have an interest in any other director, and as all the rest are of one heart and voice with respect to Father Babad, it seemed a severe regulation—and with respect to myself it was cutting me off from the advice of the only one of nine different priests I have confessed to from necessity, to whom I ever yet opened my heart, or had been able to draw the consolation and instruction so necessary in my situation.[5]

From this letter and several others contained in the same volume,

one is led to believe that Mother Seton did not properly appreciate Father David, but allowed her feelings to overrule her judgment in estimating the two directors. Both were members of the same Society and friends to each other, but quite unlike in personality. In Father Babad, the emotional elements prevailed and appealed strongly, perhaps, to the young and to converts. The circumstances which surrounded his early years were less fortunate than those that fell to Father David's lot. In a Jansenistic atmosphere he imbibed stern principles and was saved only by coming under the direction of the Reverend Father Montaigne, superior of the Seminary of Lyons, who urged him to enter the Society of St. Sulpice where he would be safeguarded.

Impulsive and energetic, he began several enterprises which proved failures, among them the opening of a college in Cuba. The Superior-General, perceiving from his correspondence that he was being imbued again with wrong ideas ordered him to go to Baltimore, where he engaged in teaching Spanish and the humanities. Here the interesting converts, Mrs. Seton and her family, attracted his attention and came under his spiritual direction. In writing of him to Bishop Carroll June 29, 1808, Father Emery said: "To great zeal and remarkable talents, Mr. Babad has joined some defects and a spirit of singularity which are harmful to the success of his ministry."[6]

The fact that the Archbishop made no change, notwithstanding her pleadings as well as the regrets expressed by Mrs. Seton in the following letter written after Father David's departure for Kentucky, shows that Dr. Carroll had made the appointment with due deliberation and with the assistance of divine light:

> Your most valued favor by Mr. Woods now permits me to speak my heart to you as Our Lord sees it, and He alone can know with what heartfelt sorrow I look back to that period, when, if I did not act contrary to your will, I, in a manner, compelled you, in order to preserve peace, to accede to what your judgment and experience would have denied. The succession of afflictions which have followed this conduct, is my best ground to hope that Our Lord has not abandoned me to my own folly, and that your patience will not be exhausted by the continual troubles I have occasioned you. And now after two years' trial, experience has too well proved how illy I am qualified to meet the views of the Rev. Gentlemen who have the government of this house, who require a pliancy of character I would, for some reasons, wish to possess, and may eventually

by the fruit of divine grace, but as yet [it] is far from being attained.[7]

Father David's prudence in directing souls, his zeal for discipline and his untiring endeavors in various directions, were of incalculable value at this formative period of the community. He conducted their second retreat which began on October 8, 1810, when they numbered fifteen members. He recommended especially that all should acquire obedience and simplicity, virtues for which he was eminently conspicuous, and he suggested that they make these the characteristic virtues of the society.

Father David's paternal solicitude for the welfare of all is found in the following instructions to Mother Seton:

> I am sorry to hear of your being so much indisposed. Undoubtedly Lent, though not very severe in these our wretched times, ought, nevertheless, to abate something of its rigors for those who are in your case. Your pastor and confessor will prescribe in his prudence what your situation requires, and I doubt not but that the love of penance will yield in our dear infirm Sisters to the voice of obedience, for obedience is better than sacrifice. I much approve of the maxim that complaining is a sort of infidelity, when it has for its principle impatience, or an anxiety for relief. But on the other side, obedience and simplicity require that infirm Sisters, when asked about their state of health, should candidly declare what they suffer, neither adding through exaggeration, easily suggested by self-love to excite commiseration, nor diminishing through a misconceived humility or modesty. I earnestly exhort you, dear Mother, to caution your daughters against a want of the sincerity, candor, simplicity, so much recommended in the Gospel, and to remind them often that the true spirit of religion is a spirit of infancy which knows no disguise. It must be a rule among the Sisters that whenever they are indisposed, they do not wait until they are asked, but go and declare it to their Mother, not by manner of complaint, but simply through prudence and obedience to the rule, and when questioned they ought also to answer in all simplicity and truth.[8]

Perhaps a better insight into his attitude toward Mother Seton is the expression of sympathy for her whose family trials were added to those incident on the responsibilities found in her new state of life:

> Crosses, privations and afflictions seem to be the lot which Our Blessed Lord has appointed for your soul. Courage, my dear Mother, these are the precious jewels with which the

Divine Spouse is pleased to adorn His bride. They are the most valuable earnests of His love and the sweet pledges of His liberalities. Our dear Harriet is not dead, but lives to her God. In lamenting her loss to us, I cannot forbear looking upon her death as a happy event for herself: from what storms and dangers is she delivered! Perhaps God foresaw that if she had lived, the persecutions and allurements of a wicked world would have shaken her constancy and caused her to forsake her good resolutions. Let us adore the inscrutable, but always wise and merciful ways of Providence, and let us more than ever convince ourselves that Jesus wishes to be the sole possessor of our hearts, and would have His spouses above all others to abandon themselves with perfect resignation into His hands, casting away all anxious cares, leaving entirely to Him the choice of the good or evils that are to befall them.[8]

Bishop Flaget returned from France on August 10, 1810, and brought for the new community the rules of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul. These were given to Mother Seton for her consideration, then turned over to Archbishop Carroll, who after serious deliberation, had some of the Sulpicians make necessary modifications, concerning the activities of the Sisters in the schools. In France they taught the children of the poor only, but as there were practically no Catholic schools for the wealthy and no money for sustaining schools in this country, it was necessary that the Sisters extend their labors to those who could afford to pay. When the alterations were completed, the Archbishop gave his approval as follows: "I have read and endeavored in the presence of God to examine the Constitutions of the Sisters of Charity, which have been submitted to me by the Reverend Superior of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice and have approved them, believing them inspired by the spirit of God and calculated to conduct the Sisters to religious perfection."

To Mother Seton he wrote September 11, 1811:

Honored and dear Madam:

Shall I confess that I am deeply humiliated at being called on to give a final sanction to a rule of conduct and plan of religious government, by which it is intended to promote and preserve, amongst many beloved spouses of Jesus Christ, a spirit of solid and sublime religious perfection? When I remember how many prayers, fastings, watchings, etc., were employed by the holy founders of religious institutions to obtain light and assistance from the Holy Ghost, to render their con-

stitutions and rules adapted to the object of their pious zeal, I am so sensible of my unworthiness, that I would certainly decline the task, if I did not entertain a confidence that it may please God to bestow a blessing on the ministerial acts of the ministers of religion, whom He has constituted, to which they are not entitled, if only their private worth were considered. . . . I shall congratulate you and your beloved Sisters when the Constitution is adopted. It will be like freeing you from a state in which it was difficult to walk straight, as you had no certain way in which to proceed. In the meantime, I assure yourself and them of my utmost solicitude for your advancement in the service and favor of God; of my reliance on your prayers; of mine for your prosperity in the important duty of education, which will and must long be your principal and will always be your partial employment. A century at least will pass before the exigencies and habits of this country will require and hardly admit of the charitable exercises towards the sick, sufficient to employ any number of the Sisters out of your largest cities; and therefore, they must consider the business of education as a laborious, charitable and permanent object of their religious duty. I am, with esteem and respect, honored and dear Madam,

Your servant in Christ,

✠ J. Ab'p. of Balt.[10]

Father David had left for Kentucky three months before the adoption of the Rules, but the blessing of his prayers continued for the welfare of the community whose growth and progress he watched with interest from a distance. One of the happy experiences of his old age was a visit to the flourishing Mother House, whose branches had already extended to many parts of the United States.

CHAPTER V

Pioneer Days in Kentucky (1774-1811)

The year 1792 which marked the arrival of Father David and his companions in America, coincides with Kentucky's admission into the sisterhood of States. Kentucky was destined to be the future scene of their apostolic labors. Fascinating, indeed, is the story of this favored land, as rich in tradition and legend, and in thrilling adventure and romantic incident, as it is in its fertile soil, rivalling even that of the Nile-watered valley of Africa. Many writers have revelled in portraying these features. Kentucky's situation and its area of 40,000 square miles with a navigable river frontage—including interior and border rivers of over 4,000 miles—give it peculiar advantages. It was important in ante-revolutionary days, because of its position in the center of that vast transmontane area which the stipulations of various treaties transferred to the hands of the English, the Spanish, or the French, according as the fortunes of war gave dominance to the one or the other.

The first white settlers came to Kentucky in 1774. It was not then the dwelling place of any Indian tribe, nor was there a vestige left of an Indian village. Numerous mounds on many river courses told in their silent, mysterious way of an ancient people, further advanced in civilization than any on the continent at its discovery. Whence they came, how they lived, and what became of them are questions for the antiquarian to answer when he has studied their geometrically shaped mounds, their modes of burial, their copper utensils and other relics.

Various Indian tribes had claimed the land by conquest. The Shawnees held it during the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century. Though reputed to be peacefully inclined, they were repeatedly attacked by the fierce Iroquois or Mohawks from the north. Defeated, they sought and obtained peace. Harassed then by several southern tribes, the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Catawbas, and Muscogees, they withdrew to the other side of the Ohio, establishing lodges on the Miami, the Scioto and the Muskingum in Ohio.

To defend themselves the better against their southern foes, they made an alliance with their former enemies, the Iroquois.

It was the custom of the Iroquois to incorporate the conquered with themselves. Soon they formed the Five Great Nations. By the incorporation of the Shawnees they claimed title to the lately abandoned territory, and accordingly gave (1768) by the treaty of Stanwix or Fort Schuyler (now Rome, New York), "To King George in consideration of £1,046 7s. 6d. all right to proprietorship of the territory south of the Ohio and west of the Cherokee [*Tennessee River*] and back of the British settlements."[1]

By treaties made in 1684, 1744, 1775, and 1818, with the whites, the Indians renounced all title to proprietorship over the soil of Kentucky. No longer the homeland of any tribe, it became the hunting ground of all, and their common battlefield: hence, perhaps, a reason for the word Kentucky, meaning "the Dark and Bloody Ground."

Since there is doubt that Colonel Woods, an Englishman, explored the State in 1654, and that a daring group of ill-fated Spaniards journeyed there in 1669, it may be assumed that the zealous French missionary, Father Marquette, and the explorer, Joliet, with five others, in 1673 were the first white men to tread Kentucky soil. Father Marquette has left an account of their descent of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, of their landing in Kentucky which was then occupied by the Chawanons or Shawnees, concerning whom he gives valuable information.[2]

The next recorded explorations are those of Dr. Walker and John Finley. The former discovered the beautiful meandering river which a tribe of Indians had called Shawnee. Walker gave it and the neighboring mountains the name of Cumberland after the English duke. John Finley came for the purpose of trading with the Indians. Though not successful, he bore away such impressions of the country as to awaken among his friends, who were inclined to adventure, a determination to set out without delay. Among them was one whose name has become identified with the early history of the State.

Daniel Boone left his home on the Yadkin River in North Carolina in May, 1769, and together with John Finley and several other adventurers, penetrated as far as the Red River, a branch of the Louisa (Kentucky River). There from an eminence they viewed the tract of beautiful rolling country in the heart of the State where Lexington now stands.[3] They described it as swarming with buffalo, deer, elk, and all kinds of game and

filled with wild beasts. They continued hunting until December, exposed to much peril from the Indians.

The next season other hunters and adventurers came in great numbers, and a further impetus to penetrate the wilds was given by the grant of "the bounty lands." The British government bestowed these on the officers and men who served in the war against the French in Canada. France in the Treaty of 1763 relinquished all claim to the territory from Canada to the Ohio valley and west to the Mississippi.

Surveyors entered the tract to locate choice lands for themselves or their patrons. One band under Captain Bullitt laid off the site of Louisville, and another under James Douglas discovered the Big Bone Lick in Boone County. Suddenly they came upon a barren area of over ten acres through which flowed a creek with never-failing salt springs on either side. Scattered over the whole surface were the bones of a race of animals long since extinct. Here the men cast their tents, using the ribs of the huge skeletons for poles over which they stretched blankets to shelter themselves from the sun and rain. Every bone was of enormous size, the teeth being eight, nine and ten feet long, and one tusk fastened in the earth having six feet extending above the surface could not be removed by the joint efforts of six men.[4] More than half a century ago this "graveyard of the Mammoths" disappeared, the bones being carried away to occupy places in the museums of Europe and of our own country.

As has been mentioned, no settlements were made until 1774. In 1773, Daniel Boone with his own and several other families set out for the purpose of establishing homes in the newly discovered territory. An attack by the Indians forced all to return. The next year James Harrod and his party arrived in safety and erected the first log cabin on the site known in the beginning as Harrod's Town, now Harrodsburg.

A second attempt by Boone was successful. He reached the place which bears in his honor the name of Boonesborough. Settlements rapidly multiplied. Each erected a fort, consisting of a quadrangular enclosure made of pointed timber fastened in the ground, a block house being in each angle. The forts were known as "stations," the earliest being Bryant's, Logan's, Harrod's and Floyd's. To settle outside the fort meant almost certain death, and even the dwellers within were in constant danger from the Indians. Notwithstanding the fact that they had re-

linquished all title to the land, the Indians viewed with intense jealousy this invasion of their favorite hunting grounds.

A prospective settler passing down the Ohio was, as it were, running a gauntlet with the enemy ambushed on both sides. Nor was he safe after reaching his destination and establishing his home. At any moment of the day or night an Indian lurking near might invade his house and scalp his wife or ruthlessly kill his babe. Webb relates the following instance which occurred at the Rolling Fork Settlement:

> About daylight one morning Buckman left his cabin for the purpose of feeding his stock. He had been gone but a few minutes when the report of a rifle, followed almost immediately by three more shots in quick succession, alarmed the family greatly. Hastily closing and fastening the door and placing above it a medal of the Blessed Virgin, snatched from her own neck, the distressed wife and mother threw herself upon her knees in the midst of her children, and prayed to be delivered from the danger she had already apprehended. Venturing at length to peep out through a loophole left in one of the sides of the house, she saw four stalwart Indians striding rapidly away, followed by two others mounted on the only horses owned by the family. Close behind the stable door was found the body of the husband and father, pierced by four bullets and his scalp gone. The body was buried where was afterwards laid off Holy Mary's cemetery.[5]

The settlers whether encountering the enemy singly or banded in war, were dauntless in the struggle, but they could procure no permanent safety,[6] and the government could send no aid until the war with England closed. Then an army of regular troops was despatched under General Harmar to the relief of the pioneers of the West. An engagement with the Indians resulted in a defeat shameful to the whites. A second army, under General St. Clair, was not more fortunate. At last General Wayne, known as "Mad Anthony," was given command. He was well acquainted with Indian tactics and trained his men accordingly. On encountering the foe he won a great and decisive victory, and by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the red men were forced to leave the whites in comparatively peaceful possession of their homes.

Rumors of the dangers to be met were more than counterbalanced by those concerning the richness of the soil and the genial climate of this western El Dorado. Settlers of the Atlantic States readily gave their places to newcomers and sought

their fortunes in this land of promise. They streamed in from the Carolinas, from Virginia, from Maryland and Pennsylvania. Nor were they disappointed. Those especially who became possessors of that delightfully rolling country in the center of the State, an area of one hundred miles by fifty, whose substratum of blue limestone imparts freshness and vigor to the vegetation, found their hopes more than realized. All around Nature spread her charms, the woods seemed "promiscuously arranged for a pleasure ground. Grape vines of prodigious size climbed the trees and spread their umbrageous leaves over all the other verdure. . . . For variety of hill and dale, for excellence of soil, yielding in abundance all that is necessary for comfortable subsistence, for amenity of landscape, beauty of forest, the number of clear streams and fine rivers, health, and the finest development of the human form, and patriarchal simplicity of rural opulence, we question if any country can be found surpassing Kentucky."[7]

All parts of the State could not boast this superiority. There were large tracts almost as unyielding as were those which, owing to long and unscientific use, the emigrants had abandoned. These unfortunately fell to the lot of the people from Catholic Maryland.

In 1785 the heads of sixty Catholic families from St. Mary's, Charles and Prince George Counties, Maryland, leagued together and pledged themselves to emigrate in four different groups to Kentucky. They were not deterred by lurid tales of the Indian scalping knife or burning stake. Their spirit of adventure was too strong and before the end of the first year twenty-five of the sixty families had reached their destination. Others followed in the three succeeding years and were joined by homeseekers from elsewhere. "Men and women, young and old, caught up the spirit and soon nearly half of Virginia and Maryland was in motion for the west." Cheated, in all probability, by speculators from whom they purchased land before they set out, the members of the first group on reaching Pottinger's Creek at a distance of ten miles from Bardstown, were keenly disappointed. Having paid their money and given bonds, they were forced to remain, nor did those of the league who followed seek the richer and more distant parts of the State. Their plan was to keep together for the two-fold purpose of being better able to protect themselves against Indian attacks, and of securing sooner the consolations of their holy Faith.[8]

Among them were relations and close friends of the Prefect-Apostolic, Dr. Carroll, and all were of his flock. He followed their movements with unwavering interest, determined to provide them as soon as possible with spiritual aid. They possessed the same intrepid spirit which had inspired their ancestors in Europe to seek freedom from religious oppression in a land beyond the sea. In true pioneer fashion they met the requirements of the moment. Houses, furniture, food and clothing had to be of their own providing. Trees were felled and with inadequate implements transformed into dwellings, and these furnished with such necessary appurtenances as their skill could devise. The seed-entrusted soil would then duly send forth crops of corn and flax, and the wild game would supply in abundance flesh and skins and furs, but that these might do service, toil and ingenuity had to be expended. Of necessity the Creator's sentence on Adam was here literally fulfilled.

In no way discouraged, they cheerfully set themselves heart and head and hand to the task, and soon the woodman's ax broke the stillness of the forest, and the constant hum of busy loom and spindle, intermingled with cheery word and happy laughter, and with the merry prattle of children, told of thrifty family life in spite of the lack of ease and opulence.

Spiritually they were sheep without a shepherd, hungry and faint, some were even inclined to wander from the fold. At length Dr. Carroll was in a position to supply their need by sending them a guide, one to break to them the Bread of Life. This was Father Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, who had during the American Revolution been a chaplain in De Grasse's fleet. After the war he gave himself to the American Church, doing service first as pastor of St. Peter's Church, New York. In Kentucky he made Nelson County the center of his activities, but his ministrations extended to Catholics throughout the State. There were, probably, Catholics in every settlement, for instance, in that of Harrod's Town was Dr. George Hart, the first physician to come to Kentucky, also William Coomes, whose wife had the distinction of being the first school teacher. Later when Bardstown became the prospective center of the Catholic population, they moved there, continuing their benefactions. Dr. Hart, besides giving his professional services to the people, donated the ground for the church and cemetery near Bardstown,[9] and Mrs. Coomes devoted herself to teaching the little ones, as she had done at Harrod's Town.

During Father Whelan's three years in Kentucky no sacrifice daunted him in the service of his people. At any season of the year he was ready to swim rivers, cross mountains and penetrate forests in order that he might bring them the consolation of Holy Mass and the sacraments. With all the warmth and eloquence of his countrymen he publicly encountered the bigot who regarded Catholics as idolators and priests as jugglers. It was not unusual for him to be interrupted in his sermons, but the rude adversary gained for himself only shame and confusion by the priest's ready wit.

An amusing instance is told of a preacher who boasted of understanding everything in the Bible, and of having been called an ignoramus by Father Whelan. "Let us prove it," said the priest, and, opening the Bible, read the passage in which Christ is called the son of David, and the son of Abraham. Then he asked an explanation of how Christ could be the son of David who lived a thousand years before Him, and of Abraham who lived still earlier; moreover, how could Christ have two fathers. The preacher requested to see the passage, and having read it slowly, thought a while; then, closing the book, answered, "There must be a mistake in the text." Among the reasons which caused Father Whelan to withdraw from Kentucky were difficulties with his flock concerning their non-fulfillment of the conditions stipulated by Bishop Carroll on sending him to labor among them. The Reverend William de Rohan came next and, though unaccredited, labored generously, building the first church, Holy Cross at Pottinger's Creek.[10]

In 1793 Bishop Carroll sent to Kentucky the first priest on whom he had bestowed Holy Orders, the *proto-sacerdos* of the United States, the young, generous-hearted, impulsive and zealous Stephen Theodore Badin, who was in Minor Orders when he accompanied Fathers David and Flaget from Europe. It was a weighty responsibility for one whose very youth seemed against his success. An elderly priest, Father Barrières, was given him as an assistant and counsellor, but the exposure, hardships and long journeyings proved too severe for a constitution already broken, so that after a few months Father Barrières left for a milder climate. Father Badin remained alone in this great wilderness. Not only Kentucky, and Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana, but all the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains, not under the jurisdiction of Quebec, was his field. Few pages in the history of missionary life, in America or elsewhere, can

surpass in interest those which tell of this proto-priest of the United States. Three years rolled by. Father Badin was then joined by Father Fournier (1797-1803), and two years later by Father Salmon and Father John Thayer (1799-1804). These soon passed off the scene, the two first to an early grave, and the last to seek a field more in accordance with his temperament.

In the spring of 1805 Father Badin welcomed the Reverend Edward D. Fenwick, O.P., who came to establish the Order of St. Dominic. Father Fenwick, though a Marylander, had been educated in Europe and entered the English province of the Dominican Order. He was a member of their college in Bornheim when, in 1803, the French revolutionists attacked and plundered it. He was made a prisoner but was released, because he was an American citizen. Father Fenwick and other members of the Bornheim faculty, namely, Fathers Wilson, Tuite and Angiers, gave themselves with the consent of the Master-General to the American mission. It was Father Fenwick's wish to establish a house of the Order in America and the proposition was a most welcome one to Bishop Carroll, who suggested Kentucky as a needy and suitable site for the foundation.

With his own patrimony Father Fenwick purchased the Waller property, erected a house and placed it under the patronage of St. Rose of Lima, the first American enrolled on the calendar of saints, and herself a Dominican. A college for the education of boys and young men, known as the College of St. Thomas Aquinas, was opened at St. Rose's and the Fathers devoted themselves to teaching and to missionary labors not only in Kentucky, but throughout the adjoining States. How well they have discharged these duties is evidenced throughout the century by their leadership as pastors and bishops and by the place they hold in the affections of Catholics throughout the South and the West. The same year (1805) saw the advent of another, whose early biographers have made him, perhaps, the best known missionary of the period, the indefatigable Father Charles Nerinckx. Possessed of unusual physical and intellectual strength, he generously employed both for the advantage of his adopted field of labor, and through his influence in his native Belgium, furnished many a poor church in Kentucky with valuable vestments, plate and paintings. Some of these, precious by their associations, can be seen at the Mother House of the religious Congregation of women which he founded. This Congregation, known as "The Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross," or "Lorettines," perpetuates his memory.

To the pioneer Catholics of Kentucky came also a band of monks of the Order of Our Lady of La Trappe. The name La Trappe is given to a place in France where in a valley surrounded by dense forests several streams form the river Yton. In 1122 a French count, Rotrou du Perche, out of gratitude to the Mother of God through whose intercession he was miraculously delivered from danger, built a church in her honor in this valley. He invited Benedictine monks from Savigny to establish a monastery nearby. In course of time relaxation having crept in, Armond Jean Le Bouthellier de Rancé in 1662 brought back strict observance. During the French Revolution when the convents and monasteries were destroyed and their inmates disbanded, these holy monks, fed so long on the delights of union with God by prayer and penance, determined to cling together and to seek exile in some friendly land. Switzerland opened her doors to them, the senate of Fribourg having invited them to make an establishment there. Dom Augustin, the superior, with twenty-three volunteers who had covenanted with him, settled at Fribourg, strictly practicing their rigid rule. Reinforcement after reinforcement came to them, until they were enabled to spread into Holland, Spain and Italy; but it was Dom Augustin's ambition to have his monks in America. Father Urbain Guillet, a zealous, energetic man, but lacking in leadership, volunteered to conduct a band to the distant country. Untold hardships were endured, and several died before they reached Pottinger's Creek in Kentucky. Here they settled, opening a school for boys, edifying all by the sublimity of their lives. A succession of adversities, together with a desire to work for the conversion of the Indians, caused Father Urbain to go further west. Immeasurable, however, was the benefit of their sojourn to the people of Kentucky. Their spirit of prayer and mortification was ever a spur to count no sacrifice too great in the cause of religion.[11]

Notwithstanding the arduous and heroic endeavors of the pioneer missionaries in this portion of God's vineyard, the field was too vast and the laborers too few to produce any notable effect before the arrival of the Right Reverend Bishop Flaget and his accompanying ecclesiastics. With him it rested to organize, to pacify, to strengthen and to extend the Kingdom of Christ so as to transform the wilderness into a garden, delightful in the abundance and variety of its products. The time had arrived for this organization. Zealous members of the clergy and the laity in Baltimore and elsewhere, were preparing for its successful accomplishment.

On the sea Bishop-elect Flaget was westward bound, and friends on both continents were anxiously praying and watching for his safe arrival. Twice the vessel which bore him was threatened by English frigates and well-nigh driven into English ports; but thanks to Heaven's protection it escaped the hands of the enemy and the dangers of the deep, and on August 10, 1810, he arrived in Baltimore.[12] He brought with him much that was valuable to the American Church. Besides the Rules of St. Vincent de Paul for the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, he had among other things an important letter for Father David. It was from the Superior-General directing him to accompany his friend to the new diocese and to remain there for three years. It further stipulated that in case a seminary should be established, Father David should be the superior of it, and should stay as long as he was needed. Concerning this appointment, Spalding says:

> A better choice could not have been made. Solidly grounded in theological knowledge and in the practice of those higher virtues which make up the interior and spiritual life, he was regular and systematic in everything he did and said as well as industrious and indefatigable in his exertions. He devoted himself with untiring zeal to his office. It mattered not whether he had twenty seminarians under his charge, or only two or three, his interest and labors for their advancement were all the same. He began with only three seminarians, in five years the number had swelled to fifteen, of whom five were students of theology.[13]

Archbishop Carroll could not consecrate Bishops for the Sees of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown, because the Bulls authorizing him to do so had not reached this country, although he knew for two years that the appointments had been made and that the Very Reverend Dr. Concanen had been consecrated in Rome for the See of New York.

On leaving the Eternal City to set out for New York, Bishop Concanen was entrusted by Pope Pius VII with the Bulls for the consecration of the bishops of the other American Sees, with the pallium for Archbishop Carroll and with other documents; among them one relative to the restoration of the Society of Jesus in this country. But Bishop Concanen never reached his destination; nor could he communicate with Archbishop Carroll because of the embargo placed on American ships. He carefully sealed the precious papers in separate bundles and consigned them to

the Filicchi brothers, with the injunction to forward them when a safe occasion permitted. He himself fell ill, and died at Naples on June 19, 1810. Fortunately he had sent copies of the Bulls to Father Emery in Paris requesting that they be delivered to Archbishop Carroll when an opportunity offered itself.[14] Thus Bishop-elect Flaget became the bearer of all these important documents. He had also several valuable and useful gifts for his brethren of St. Sulpice, among them were some sacred vestments, and a chalice used by their holy founder, Father Olier.[15]

Better still than all these he brought with him several young ecclesiastics who had offered themselves for the American missions. One of them, Father Bruté, was to succeed Father David in his work in the Seminary of Baltimore, and later in the superiorship of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg; three of the others were destined to form the nucleus of the new seminary in Kentucky.

It was a joy to the tender heart of the Bishop-elect to be able to tell his brethren of the privilege vouchsafed to him of remaining a member of the Society, notwithstanding his elevation to the episcopacy. This was, of course, unusual since the episcopal as well as the pastoral and missionary duties were not compatible with the one object for which the Sulpician Society was established. The favor was granted in this instance since it was through the Superior-General that Flaget had accepted the appointment of the Pope.

What a day of glory in the life of the Archbishop and in the history of the Church in America was that of the first great episcopal consecration ever held in this land! Nothing was left undone to make the celebration worthy of the event. A special day was assigned for each consecration and each was surrounded with becoming splendor.[16] On Sunday, October 28, 1810, at St. Peter's pro-Cathedral, the Right Reverend Dr. Egan was consecrated for the See of Philadelphia; on All Saints' Day in the same church, the Right Reverend Dr. Cheverus was consecrated for the See of Boston; and on November 4, in St. Patrick's Church, Fell's Point, the Right Reverend Dr. Flaget was consecrated for the See of Bardstown. At these impressive ceremonies the Archbishop was moved to tears, especiallly on the occasion of Bishop Flaget's consecration, when the orator of the day, the recently consecrated Bishop Cheverus, later raised to the Cardinalate, saluted his Grace as the "Elias of the New

Law, the father of the clergy, the conductor of the chariot of Israel in the New World."[17]

Following the counsel of Father David, the Bishop-elect entered on a retreat of forty days in imitation of the forty days fast of Our Lord in the desert. Here in union with God by prayer and penance, he fortified himself for his public life, the governing of his diocese for the extraordinary period of forty years.[18]

The Archbishop detained his suffragans a few weeks to aid them in organizing their diocese and he arranged with them to assemble again in Baltimore in 1812, for a First National Synod when they would legislate for the religious needs of the country. When the other bishops set out for their respective sees, Bishop Flaget was forced to postpone his departure. It is not easy for one to-day, when millions of dollars are readily raised for educational and religious purposes in any part of this prosperous land, to realize that a little over a century ago, this newly-consecrated Bishop in truly apostolic poverty could literally fulfill the Master's mandate: "Take nothing for your journey; neither staff, nor scrip, nor bread, nor money" (Luke ix, 3). He had not funds sufficient to convey him and his suite from Baltimore to Bardstown. The Archbishop could not help him, being poorer still, for he had debts to pay; the Pope could not help him for he was Napoleon's prisoner, and the Sacred College of Cardinals was dispersed; the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was not yet established; and Father David after nearly twenty years of missionary and educational labors was not only moneyless, but could say he was "as poor in health as was the Bishop's purse." Father Badin, the Vicar-General in Kentucky, offered to raise the necessary amount among the people, but Bishop Flaget, knowing that money was hardly a commodity in that section, would not have his coming to his flock preceded by taxation. He preferred delaying in Baltimore until the generosity of his friends would furnish a sufficient sum.

Father David bade farewell to his duties in Maryland, to the Sisterhood of Emmitsburg, to his brethren at the seminary and to the many friends that bound him to Baltimore and other parts of Maryland. The prayers and tears of hundreds whom he had lifted from the mire of sin and taught to walk in the sunlight of God's grace, and of others to whom he had given a glimpse of the sacred joys of "the perfect life," where in very truth the hundred fold is found, accompanied him as he turned

his face to the wilds of the West which lay all unaware of approaching blessings.

The little band, consisting of Bishop Flaget, Father David, Mr. Chabrat, and the two French students for the seminary, having left Baltimore, spent the night of May 13 at an inn on the heights of the Alleghanies.[19] Early next morning while the inmates were yet sleeping the Bishop offered the Holy Sacrifice and the others received Holy Communion. They then breakfasted, and set out for Pittsburgh. Their progress was slow, because of the heavy baggage, which consisted chiefly of books donated by the Sulpicians of St. Mary's for the Kentucky Seminary, one of every duplicate book of the St. Mary's Library. They were supplied with vestments, linens and sacred vessels. Their brethren of St. Sulpice thoughtfully gave them besides a negro boy whose services might prove useful; otherwise he was to be returned.

At Pittsburgh a flatboat was chartered especially for their use. Father Savine, a Canadian priest who had proffered his services for the Kentucky diocese, joined them, also the Very Reverend Edward Fenwick, Superior of the Dominicans in Kentucky,[20] who was returning from Maryland with several young religious of his Order. Having had experience in traveling in these parts, Father Fenwick's companionship was valuable as well as agreeable, and friendships were formed during the voyage which endured through many years of disinterested labors in the common cause of God's glory.

Never before nor since did the Ohio hold on its bosom so precious a burden, the infant seminary, the naissant Church of the West, bearing the seeds of learning and religion to be disseminated in minds and souls as rich and yielding as the coveted soil which they were seeking.

The cabin of the boat served now as a chapel with an altar improvised from boxes and decorated to the best advantage, again as a study, a refectory or a dormitory. On Sunday after prayers said in common each priest offered the Adorable Sacrifice and the others received Holy Communion. A daily schedule faithfully carried out gave the atmosphere of the Seminary of Angers to the little vessel floating on through the winding forests, disturbed by no human sound or sight of habitation. After several days Louisville was reached, and Father Nerinckx, representing the clergy of the diocese, welcomed the party, whom he conducted first to the episcopal city and then to St. Stephen's.

RT. REV. BISHOP FLAGET
Lifelong Friend of Bishop David

Their friends in Baltimore followed the travelers with lively interest and hailed with enthusiasm any tidings of their journey. Father Bruté writing to Father Emery, in Paris, June 20, 1811, said:

> Our Kentucky missionaries have reached Louisville, after a most happy and holy voyage on the Ohio. What letters from Monsignor Flaget and M. David! You would think you were reading Chateaubriand, but here is a delightful reality. A chapel permanently erected in the boat, Mass every day and four on Sundays and all communicate, on the waters in the midst of the forests! Here and there as they pass on, the beginnings of civilization appear, now a few homes, again a small village and occasionally towns already half built with sign of industry and greater activity. All hearts are full of hope in that ark of safety, the regular exercises are held as in a seminary, hour by hour, from rising until retiring. Behold from Ascension Day, when they embarked from Pittsburgh until the 4th of June, when they landed in Louisville, the life and preparation of our modern Apostles![21]

In a letter to his reverend brother, the curé of Billom, France, Bishop Flaget in a half-serious, half-playful way described the event:

> While we were there [in Louisville] the faithful of my episcopal city [Bardstown] put themselves in motion to receive me in a manner conformable to my dignity. They dispatched for my use a fine equipage drawn by two horses; and a son of one among the principal inhabitants considered himself honored in being the driver. Horses were furnished to all those who accompanied me, and four wagons transported our baggage.
>
> It was for the first time that I saw the bright side of the episcopacy, and that I began to feel its dangers. Nevertheless, God be thanked, if some movements of vanity glided into my heart, they had not a long time to fix their abode therein. The roads were so detestable, that in spite of my beautiful chargers and my excellent driver, I was obliged to perform part of my journey on foot, and I should have so traveled the entire way had not one of my young seminarians dismounted and presented me his horse.
>
> The next day the sun was not yet risen when we were already on our journey. The roads were much better. I entered the carriage with two of my suite. I was not the more exalted [*fier*] for all this. The idea that I was hereafter to speak, to write and to act as a Bishop, cast me into a profound sad-

ness. How many sighs did I not breathe forth while traversing the four or five remaining leagues of our journey!

At the distance of a half league [a mile and a half] from town, an ecclesiastic of my diocese, accompanied by the principal inhabitants came to meet me. So soon as they perceived us, they dismounted to receive my benediction. I gave it to them but with how trembling a hand, and with what heaviness of heart! Mutual compliments were now exchanged, and then we all together proceeded toward the town. This cortège, though simple and modest in itself, is nothing very new and extraordinary in this country. It was the first time a Bishop was ever seen in these parts (deserts), and it was I, the very last of the last tribe, who was to have this honor!

In entering the town I devoted myself to all the guardian angels who resided therein, and I prayed to God with all my heart, to make me die a thousand times, should I not become an instrument of His glory in this new diocese. O my dear Brother, have compassion on me, overloaded with so heavy a burden, and pray fervently to God that He would vouchsafe to lighten it.[22]

Father Badin thus describes the installation:

The Bishop there found the faithful kneeling on the grass, and singing canticles in English. The country women were nearly all dressed in white, and many of them were still fasting, though it was then four o'clock in the evening, they having entertained a hope to be able to assist at his Mass, and to receive the Holy Communion at his hand. An altar had been prepared at the entrance of the first court, under a bower composed of four small trees which overshadowed it with their foliage. Here the Bishop put on his pontifical robes. After the aspersion of the holy water, he was conducted to the chapel in procession, with the singing of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin and the whole function closed with prayers and ceremonies prescribed for the occasion in the Roman Pontifical."[23]

CHAPTER VI

Missionary Work in Kentucky (1811-1818)

On June 4, 1811, Father David's fiftieth birthday, the episcopal party reached Louisville. Usually at the half century milestone one pauses to retrospect. Did Father David go back to his far-off childhood free and happy, and see himself basking in the joys created by loving Christian parents? Did he bless the hand of Providence for shielding him later from the countless dangers into which so many youths were constantly plunging? On through college and seminary days did he look into the lives that came into his own, enriching and ennobling it, and did he recognize his own gradually winding around others, and linking hidden destinies? Did he in vision cross again the billowy seas to the land of hope, of promise and of safety, and pass down through the fields of Maryland and into the academic halls of Baltimore, even to the spot where with heroic courage he pledged himself to accompany his sincere friend to this western wild? Obedience had placed its seal upon that pledge, hence it was his to spread here the Kingdom of Christ.

Although worn by the fatigues of travel, Father David was, at this anniversary, in the full vigor of physical and intellectual manhood. In height not above the medium, he possessed a figure, which though inclined to corpulency, was well formed and being surmounted by a wealth of waving locks, gave him distinction. On his face nature had stamped a look of unusual grace and benevolence; an intellectual brow and large forehead pointed to breadth of mind, and the finely chiseled lips expressed his magnanimity of heart. His large, dark eyes, often sparkling with enthusiasm, lighted up the entire countenance and contributed to a winning personality which few could resist.

True apostolic poverty was the portion of Father David and his right reverend friend. The "episcopal palace" which Father Badin had provided, a log house sixteen feet square, contained two rooms, the larger was furnished with a bed, six chairs, two tables and a few planks for a library. Father David occupied the smaller, which was even more poorly furnished. A second log house of the same size was the home of the seminarians.

He entered at once upon the duties of a missionary. There were several neighboring congregations badly in need of assistance.

Much sickness prevailed during the summer, and day and night like an angel of mercy he came and went among his people. He recognized many as his former parishioners in Maryland, or their relations. Truly was he among his own. The poorer they were, the more did he extend his kindly service. Eagerly did they watch for his visits; the children especially gathered around him, proud to boast of a special word or gentle caress; and he loved them with a Christ-like affection. Those were busy days for him through the summer and fall months, hearing confessions, teaching catechism, giving instructions, saying Mass and supervising the work of the seminarians. The Bishop, too, entered on the laborious duties of an ordinary missionary.[1] To Mr. Chabrat, who had completed his theological course in France, was entrusted the teaching of the seminarians.

The Bishop frequently conferred with Father David concerning the best means for promoting the spiritual life of the people, always deeply deploring the ignorance of the rising generation. Schools should be established, but where could teachers be found? It is true that the Trappists for a short time had done much to fill the need (1805-1809) and the Dominicans even then in their College of St. Thomas Aquinas were educating many boys; but the girls who were to be the future home-makers, in whose hands would chiefly rest the destiny of the next generation, were growing up all untaught. No Sisterhoods were available; the two founded in the country, namely, the Visitandines and Mother Seton's Daughters were in a stage of formation, and too few in numbers to supply even the requirements of their own vicinities. To transport any from Europe was out of the question. What was to be done? They deliberated, they prayed that the Divine Lover would reveal to some generous-hearted maidens this dire need, that He would inspire them with the desire of espousing themselves to Him, of severing ties of flesh and blood, and of forming for love of Him the nucleus of a Religious community which would care for the education of the most precious portion of his flock.[2]

Inflamed with zeal for the execution of this design, three missionaries, namely, Father David, Father Nerinckx and Father Wilson, O.P., became the founders of three distinct Congregations: The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (1812); the Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross, or Lorettines (1812); and the Sisters of St. Dominic (1821). In the heart of the wilderness these sprang up under the fostering care of their respec-

tive founders. As time went on they extended their usefulness throughout the nation, and the spirit of each still waxes young, as a second century of greater and more vital demands moves onward.

Father David's ideal was the Institute founded in his native land two hundred years before by his fellow-countryman, St. Vincent de Paul, heroically engaged in every form of benevolence and known as Sisters of Charity. His experience, too, with the institution under Mother Seton, for which Bishop Flaget had secured the Rule from France, made him decide on laying a similar foundation in Kentucky. In a later chapter we shall see the rise and progress of this work.

Providence furnished a desirable site for the seminary. A pious Catholic layman, Thomas Howard, had bequeathed his farm of three hundred and sixty-four acres to the Bishop of Kentucky. The Howards had come from Maryland in the colony of 1787, in which, it is thought, also came the first priest, the Rev. Father Whelan.[3]

Mr. Howard, in building his home, a substantial log house, the ordinary kind in the country in those days, made it larger than the family required by adding a hall for the accommodation of all the Catholics of the vicinity who wished to assemble there for Divine service. It was called St. Thomas' Station in honor of the patron saint of the owner. According to the will, the Bishop could have immediate possession of only half the farm; the other half together with the homestead and the negroes was to belong to the widow during her lifetime.[4] However, wishing to see the fruit of her husband's charity, Mrs. Howard urged that the seminarians be transferred there at once. The magnanimous offer having been accepted, Father David on December 5, 1811, left his mission and conducted the five seminarians to their new home which was about three miles south of Bardstown.

Mrs. Howard retained two rooms in the homestead until the erection of her own house was completed. Perceiving the embarrassment of the ecclesiastics on account of the need of a chapel, she gave them the smaller room. Mr. Moretty, a young man from Philadelphia, who had joined the Bishop's party on its way to Kentucky with the view of trying his vocation for the priesthood, was a skilful carpenter,[5] and constructed in the small room a table for an altar on which he built a tabernacle. The walls were adorned with pictures, and the pious widow and the seminarians had the satisfaction of assisting daily at the Holy Sacrifice in the neat little chapel. By a happy arrangement

the Blessed Sacrament reposed over the very spot where the generous donor had died.

The assembly hall in the homestead continued to be used by the congregation and to do service also as study hall, recreation room, and refectory for the seminarians. In the beginning, the sleeping apartments were sufficiently spacious, but there was no place for the Bishop, who was a frequent visitor. A bed was, therefore, reserved for his use in Father David's room. After a few months a temporary frame structure was erected, twenty by twenty-four feet, containing a study hall, with an attic as a dormitory. It is probably with this attic that the traditional hardships of those first winters are associated, as the rain and snow easily penetrated through roof and windows. This was known as the seminary. When the seminarians took possession of it, their former dormitory was converted into a comfortable apartment for the Bishop. The "episcopal palace" at St. Stephen's was then abandoned by him and St. Thomas' had the honor of being, until 1818, the Bishop's home, a delightful haven of rest when he returned from his arduous journeyings through his immense diocese.

Often at meals and recreation the students heard him recount his experiences, and were thrilled with emotion as a spark of the apostolic zeal which consumed him was enkindled in their souls. Happy were they to be in an atmosphere created by the presence of two such characters as Flaget and David! Their influence was ever an inspiration and a solace. Long afterwards, Bishop Spalding, writing to his friend, Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, said: "We have just emerged from a consoling retreat of the clergy. . . . I was deeply consoled by the piety and regularity of my clergy, especially of the old sacerdotal soldiers enlisted under the saintly Bishop David."[6]

Letters from Father David to his superior-general in France show his endeavors to have the spirit of St. Sulpice of Paris reproduced in the Seminary of St. Thomas. He even arranged the daily schedule as far as it was practical to conform thereto. He himself taught theology and sacred singing and he appointed the theologians professors for the other seminarians. The day extended from 4:30 a. m. to 10:00 p. m., meals being at 7:30, 1:00 and 8:00 o'clock in summer, and a half hour later in winter. The spiritual exercises began with a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, followed by morning prayers, meditation and Mass. At 10:00 o'clock and at 12:45, and again after dinner and after supper visits were made to the Blessed Sacrament; at midday

and evening there was examination of conscience and at 4:00 o'clock, the rosary. General recreation was engaged in from supper until night prayers. All the intervening periods were devoted to study, class and other work. From dinner until 4 o'clock the students engaged in manual labor. Father David gives the following reasons for introducing it into their course: 1—To avoid idleness and useless conversation. 2—To keep up the habit of work to which the young men had been accustomed from their earliest years. 3—For bodily health and exercise. 4—For the exercise of humility and obedience, all being done under the direction of two prefects who carried out the order of the superior. 5—Because this work is a real recreation for the mind which is thereby better prepared for study.[7]

The satisfaction of beholding the goodly fruits of one's labor usually more than compensates for the pains expended. For many years such was the experience of these young men who looked upon the solid brick structures located on the farm, and who recalled the making of the brick, and stacking it to a certain height, the hauling of stones, all the assistance which they generously gave the workmen in erecting the parish church of St. Thomas, the Convent of Nazareth and their own spacious seminary. In 1816 these were completed in accordance with the plan of John Rogers, an architect from Baltimore.[8]

Each day the table bore evidence of their industry as gardeners. Father David says: "Mr. Derigaud [who accompanied Bishop Flaget from France] with the assistance of other seminarians takes care of the garden, and I need not assure you that we enjoy his good vegetables."[9] The walks, lanes, trees, and fences all bespoke the ability of the seminarians to produce the beautiful as well as the useful.

Thursday, the weekly holiday, was spent by Father David in caring for the spiritual needs of the different congregations of which he was pastor, and during his absence the students engaged in whatever manual labor was allotted them. Sunday he devoted to his pastoral duties at St. Thomas'. The good people who began to gather at an early hour always found him ready to receive them with a Christ-like warmth, and ready to encourage them with a loving interest. The students' assembly hall then became the chapel, and the daily chapel was converted into a confessional. Mass was at ten o'clock in summer and at eleven o'clock in winter. Usually between thirty and forty members of the congregation received Holy Communion each Sunday, and on great feasts fully twice that number.

The seminarians spent the forenoon of Sunday in prayer and in studying the New Testament. They recited the entire rosary in three divisions; after the Joyful and the Sorrowful Mysteries respectively there was a spiritual reading of fifteen minutes, and after the Glorious Mysteries, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin was chanted. In the afternoon they enjoyed outdoor pleasures until five o'clock when all assembled for Vespers. Then Father David gave them an explanation of the New Testament which they had studied in the morning. After this they were free to open their hearts to him in private and to receive individually the light and guidance of which they stood in need.

Vocations to the priesthood were numerous, but all who applied could not be admitted for want of sufficient means to maintain them, a condition which continued for many years as is seen from the following account given by Bishop Flaget in 1824 to the Association of the Propagation of the Faith:

> The funds [which you sent us] will be put to good use, and I dare say without flattering myself that few of the missions in the Christian world furnish a more consoling outlook for the future. Our two seminaries and our various monasteries are firmly established and well patronized. It is true that the number of the seminarians is quite limited, not that many subjects do not present themselves for admittance, but because our means are small and because we are afraid of contracting debts.
>
> If Europe should ever furnish us sufficient money to support and educate a large number of subjects, I have every reason to believe, and it is the opinion of those who are familiar with Kentucky, that not only can I educate a sufficient number of priests for my own diocese, but I can supply the neighboring dioceses with them. I have thirty subjects in my two seminaries and, if I had the means to clothe and support fifty, I could have them immediately; as for the Seminary at Baltimore, which is in existence for more than thirty years, it has scarcely six subjects. You may rest assured you are laboring effectively for the Propagation of the Faith in collecting funds for the Kentucky missions.[10]

True, some who entered became discouraged at the thought of future hardships, and dazzled at the prospect of accumulating wealth in a land so full of material resources, withdrew after "putting the hand to the plough."

The first priest ordained in Kentucky was Guy Ignatius Chabrat. He had come, as has been mentioned, from France in 1810 with Bishop-elect Flaget, in response to the earnest plea

for missionaries in this field afar. His studies for the priesthood were completed and he had already received Minor Orders. Soon his rare qualities of mind and heart endeared him to Father David as well as to the Bishop, and to both of them he proved a trusty, life-long friend. Other Sulpicians, too, prized his worth and valued his friendship. The following shows the interest taken in him by the Very Rev. Father Tessier, superior of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore:

My dear Brother in Christ,

Having learned that you are about to receive ordination to the priesthood, I must extend to you my felicitations and urge you to do all in your power to prepare well for this great event. It is a precious moment when the bishop imposes his hands on you and gives you the right to your future ministry, and your ministry in a country where there is much to be done, cannot fail to be before God of the greatest importance. You have, doubtless, already noticed that there are fatigues and hardships awaiting you on all sides; that there are dangers in rural districts as well as in cities, and that it is necessary for you to arm yourself with courage and zeal for the glory of Our Lord and for the salvation of the souls which He has purchased with His Blood. But do not think that your sufferings will be without consolation. A fervent priest finds a holy sweetness, both in the celebration of the divine mysteries and in his other communications with God; for instance, in preparing his sermons, the use of the breviary and, too, in the administration of the Sacraments, especially in that of Penance where he beholds the operation of grace in faithful souls. Take courage then, my dear friend, and make the resolution to watch over yourself carefully in the least particulars as the time of your immolation approaches.

Prepare yourself by retreat and recollection. Meditate much on the obligations and excellence of the sacerdotal state and neglect nothing that will enable you to enter it worthily. I was much pleased with your letter, but am in doubt as to whether I answered it. Count this as an answer, in case you received no other. I am telling you no news as I am writing to M. David. Pray much for me and for all the Seminary. Write me when you are to be ordained.

Adieu, I am with all possible affection, dear friend and brother,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

J. Tessier,[11]

He was ordained December 1, 1811, in the church of the

Dominicans, St. Rose, Washington County,[12] and was assigned to the congregations which Father David had been attending. "He [Father Chabrat] celebrated his first Mass on Christmas day in the Church of Holy Cross, the oldest in Kentucky, and on Monday," writes Father David, "he joined me at St. Joseph's near Bardstown when I was about to hear confessions. I yielded him the place. He took it most graciously and began at once his ministry [in the sacred tribunal]. For twelve days I remained with him, taking him to the different places where the faithful were accustomed to assemble for divine worship. On the eve of the Epiphany we returned to St. Joseph's. There I took leave of him and came back to the seminary.[13]

Robert A. Abell in all probability was the first Kentuckian to enter the Seminary.[14] The possessor of brilliant talents, his goodness of heart and genial disposition made him the delight of any social or religious gathering. His ancestry and personal career are interesting. His grandfather, Samuel Abell, a non-Catholic, was high-sheriff of St. Mary's County, Maryland, at a time when it was illegal for a Catholic to hold office in the State without taking a test oath tantamount to renouncing his Faith. His grandmother, Ellen O'Brien, was a fervent Irish Catholic. Her husband permitted her to rear their daughters in the Catholic Faith, but their sons must follow his persuasion.

When the eldest, Philip, had attained manhood, he accompanied his father to Leonardtown to be sworn in as deputy sheriff. On hearing the test oath read, he refused to take it, saying it would choke him to do so. His father was shocked. Feeling himself outraged, he hastened home, where, notwithstanding his altered appearance, he was greeted as usual by his tactful wife. But he burst forth with "Ellen Abell, you have deceived me! In defiance of my known will you have made Phil a Catholic. He has today brought disgrace upon me, and shown his contempt for the law and the religion of the State by refusing to take the oath of office. It is to you, deceiving and deceitful woman, that I am indebted for the shame that has this day come upon me!"

"Samuel Abell," returned his wife, her eyes streaming with tears, and her countenance radiant with gratitude, "I have never deceived you! Not since you took me for a wife have I disobeyed you! If Phil has learned to respect the religion of his mother, it is to God's grace, and not to that mother's instructions that both mother and son are indebted for the result which I had indeed hoped for and prayed for from the hour of his birth, but which seemed so far distant from my despairing heart."

Then falling upon her knees she raised her eyes to heaven exclaiming: "I thank Thee, O my God, that Thou hast remembered me in mercy! From a full heart I give Thee thanks that Thou hast led the son Thou gavest me to render obedience to Thy law, rather than that which Thy erring creatures have set up in the land."

Awed by this manifestation of faith and constancy, Samuel Abell held his peace and never again referred to the incident. All his sons grew up in the Faith of their mother and he himself embraced it on his death-bed. Their second son, Robert Abell, came with his family to Kentucky in 1788 and settled on the Rolling Fork in Washington County. He was a delegate to the convention which framed the State Constitution, a constitution which passed no restriction on religious liberty, and he always exercised high influence in political and religious affairs.

Four years after settling in Kentucky, his gifted son, Robert Junior, was born to him. Cut off from life a few years later, he left the rearing of a large family to his widow, a woman of strong, energetic will. She was the first to instruct little Robert in letters. His extraordinary gifts were soon discovered by others who persuaded her to send him to the Dominican College where his intellectual and spiritual powers were rightly developed. In 1812 he passed from there to St. Thomas' Seminary.

Father David, whose judgment of character seldom erred, at once recognized his merits and rejoiced to find that his rare talents were surpassed only by his magnanimity, loyalty to his superiors and devotedness to his vocation. His priestly career of over fifty years enriched the history of Catholicity in his native state where the memory of him will ever live.

Considering the time and the place, numerous, indeed, were the subjects raised to the priesthood during Father David's administration.[15] Several of them were honored with the purple. The very first, the Reverend Guy Ignatius Chabrat, became coadjutor to Bishop Flaget. Some others enjoy the distinction of being the first native Americans, who having received their early ecclesiastical education in this country, adorned by their virtue and learning the ranks of the American Hierarchy. They were Martin J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville and later Archbishop of Baltimore; Ignatius A. Reynolds, successor of the illustrious Bishop England in the See of Charleston, South Carolina, and John McGill, third Bishop of Richmond, Virginia.

CHAPTER VII

The Seminary and Its Guests (1816-1817)

In less than four years the increase in the number of seminarians made it imperative to secure more spacious quarters. A substantial brick building was decided on and Father David gave to his Superior-General in France the following minute details concerning it:

> It is to be thirty feet square, covering that amount of ground and allowing for a passage ten feet wide in the rear. On the first floor we shall have a study hall and a hall for exercises, each twenty by fifteen feet. The refectory in the basement under the study hall will be lighted by three windows having each nine panes of glass ten by eight inches. The second floor, which will be divided lengthwise by a corridor six feet wide, will contain seven rooms, five of these will be seven and the others ten feet wide, and provided with fireplaces. The attic which is to be plastered will serve as a dormitory. It will have a partition in the middle so that beds may be on either side. This will afford comfortable accommodation for twenty seminarians. Providence will furnish the means to bear the expense.[1]

While the work was in progress Father David says:

> Our plans are interrupted. We have received news from Monsignor Du Bourg through his brother Louis of New Orleans that the Holy See on his representation has judged proper to erect a new diocese in Upper Louisiana, and that Monsignor Flaget is to be transferred there while another bishop, Monsignor Gallitzin, has been named for Kentucky. We are in the dark, in a state truly painful, all our plans suspended, not receiving any direct information from Monsignor Du Bourg.[2]

Shortly after founding the Sisters of Charity, Father Du Bourg was appointed Administrator-Apostolic of the Diocese of Louisiana. All the territory west of the Alleghanies was, therefore, under the jurisdiction of these Sulpicians, wise, holy, cultured men, and devoted friends to each other. Their interchange of ideas as to the best interests of the Church was frequent and helpful. The plan of a transfer to St. Louis originated with Bishop Flaget as is shown in a letter from Bishop Du Bourg, dated New Orleans, April 25, 1815:

> In your letter from St. Louis you return to the idea of fixing your See there, provided a suitable subject [bishop] can be found for Kentucky. You propose a Dominican for Kentucky. . . . I will not fail to present to the Holy See both the pastor and the flock of Kentucky, and I will also submit your plan for the erection of a bishopric in Upper Louisiana. From what you tell me I would be tempted to believe that a Frenchman would suit best for the new see, and an American for Kentucky, and that you would not be displeased at the change. . . . Nor do I clearly understand what you mean about the location of your See: it would seem that Bardstown does not appear to you to be a suitable place for a cathedral city.[3]

Speaking of it in a letter to his superior in France, Father David points out the good features of a location in Missouri for the episcopal see and seminary. He says:

> There is nothing to obstruct the work of the Company in Kentucky. As to funds they will not be wanting, here we have a plantation of three hundred and sixty-four acres of excellent land. If we should be transferred to Upper Louisiana, we would have still greater advantages. The inhabitants are disposed to give sufficient lands for the support of the bishop and his clergy. They ardently desire him there, and they would give anything in the world to have him. They are of the French spirit. Moreover, we would be in the place where M. Emery would have had us in 1791 to establish a seminary, that is, near the numerous tribes of savages who have never heard a word of the Gospel: *ostium apertum est magnum et evidens.* General Clark who passed among those tribes when he explored the Missouri, crossing over the mountains and ascending by the Columbia River to the Pacific coast, assures us that the tribes are in character gentle, humane, and tractable. The missionaries will only have to follow the trail of these explorers, the road is marked. We could be established there below the Seminary of Montreal.[4]

The diocese of Bishop Du Bourg was vast not only in area, but in the number of souls, and of the twelve priests to serve the sixty thousand Catholics, two were over sixty and three over seventy years of age.[5] In the third year of his administration, learning that the Holy See wished him to be consecrated bishop, he set out for Rome, determined to refuse the honor unless he could obtain in Europe missionaries and other means necessary for his diocese. His views on all things pertaining to his work met with the approval of Pope Pius VII, who, deploring the

spiritual destitution of Louisiana, urged his consecration which took place at Rome on September 28, 1815.

Bishop Du Bourg happened to be present at a sermon delivered by a young clergyman of the Congregation of the Mission, who was teacher of theology in the college of his own Society and in that of the Propaganda. Much impressed with the sanctity and apostolic spirit of the preacher, Bishop Du Bourg exclaimed: "Here is one, destined for the American Missions." An interview held later with the young priest, confirmed his opinion. He lost no time in petitioning the Holy Father to assign him this saintly man, Father De Andreis. The request was granted. But the Vicar-General of the Congregation, not willing to part with so valuable a member, cast himself at the feet of the Holy Father and represented that the work mapped out for Rome that season could not be accomplished, if Father De Andreis were withdrawn.

After seriously considering the matter Pope Pius decided that the needs of the American missions outweighed those of the Eternal City and requested the Vicar-General to give not only Father De Andreis but other members of the Congregation to found a house and establish a seminary in Louisiana in accordance with the plans and desires of Bishop Du Bourg. Father Rosati, a disciple of Father De Andreis, and eleven other Lazarists left soon for America with the blessing of the Holy Father and of their own Superiors. Bishop Du Bourg remained in Europe to obtain other volunteers.

Later developments showed that a transfer of Bishop Flaget to the See of St. Louis was not feasible. Father David writes:

> Finally Monsignor received a letter from Cardinal Doria on the subject. But the project has been abandoned. Monsignor Du Bourg rejected by the clergy of New Orleans and a large majority of the people who do not wish a bishop unless it be their unfortunate Père Antoine, prudently decided to fix his see at least provisionally at St. Louis, in Upper Louisiana, called in this country the territory of Missouri. Already he has sent a vanguard of thirteen persons, five priests, four clerics in Minor Orders and four lay Brothers, to establish themselves in the last-named city. They are actually enroute for Pittsburgh where they will take a flatboat and descend with their baggage to the mouth of the Ohio River. They will proceed up the Mississippi in barges as its waters are too rapid for flatboats. They are to pass within forty-five miles of our home. Monsignor proposes to meet them in Louisville. They write that they are planning to pay us a visit and to taste a little of our poverty. I assure you it will be hard on them,

and I know we shall be greatly edified by them, but we shall be somewhat embarrassed having hardly sufficient room for ourselves and for the workmen who are employed on our building.[6]

After encountering many hardships the party of Lazarists reached Louisville and two of them proceeded to Bardstown as Bishop Flaget could not await their belated arrival. He persuaded them all to come to St. Thomas' Seminary and urged them to remain until the following year when Bishop Du Bourg should arrive from Europe. He represented that the people of St. Louis, not being informed of their coming, would not be prepared to receive them, and they, not knowing either English or French, would have difficulty in making themselves understood. They gratefully accepted his hospitality.

From the point of view of these Europeans, let us look again at the seminary and the missions. One of them, Father Rosati, later Bishop of St. Louis, says:

The superior of that place was the Reverend Father David, afterwards Bishop of Mauricastro and coadjutor Bishop of Bardstown. He had then under his guidance twenty young ecclesiastics. They all resided together in a house constructed of logs, the crevices of which were filled with clay, which in drying became as hard as stone. The upper part roofed with rough boards served as their common dormitory. Not far from the seminary was the episcopal residence, also constructed of logs, but somewhat better put together. It was divided into two stories besides the basement. The first floor contained three rooms, the largest of which served as a school room and refectory. Fathers De Andreis and Rosati were located in the two others. The Bishop had his room in the upper story, near it was a small cabinet used as a library and which he gave up to one of our band. Some were lodged in the seminary and others in good Catholic families. . . . The servant of God [Father De Andreis] never ceased to bless Divine Providence for having led him and his companions to a place where he could so well learn the practice of the sacred ministry in this country and be guided by the experience of two such holy men as Bishop Flaget and Father David. Both of these zealous and vigilant pastors had grown old in the labors of the apostolic career, and for many years they had been employed on the American mission, to the great advantage of the flock confided to their care. . . . And we learned much from them. . . . For example, they advised us not to attack certain customs of the country which were not wrong in themselves, nor opposed to the Gospel or the laws of the Church, but merely

different from the customs of Europe. But the best instruction and that which made the most impression . . . was the irreproachable and austere life led by the two bishops in their little seminary. This example of mortification being followed by the priests and students of the seminary, was a source of much edification to all the faithful of the diocese where unfortunately the use of strong drinks usually prevailed.[7]

Father De Andreis, in a letter to the Vicar-General, Very Reverend Father Sicardi in Rome, dated November 29, 1816, says:

The life of a missionary in this country is pretty hard. He must be constantly on horseback, finding his way here and there through the immense woods to visit the sick and attend congregations. Sometimes he is obliged to go thirty or forty miles to see a sick person. The congregations are what we call parishes, the people assemble in cabins, built of trunks of trees laid upon one another, the interstices filled with clay (like the greater number of houses, into which the wind and water enter without difficulty.) These are our churches without pictures or ornaments of any kind, provided merely with a poor wooden altar. They are scattered about among the woods and on festival days, Catholics, and not unfrequently Protestants, too, for ten or fifteen miles around gather together within their walls. All come on horseback, and it is really amusing to behold the surrounding woods filled with horses, and to hear them neighing as if a regiment of cavalry were in the vicinity. Confessions take up the greater part of the morning, Mass is said or sung, a sermon or homily preached, and then follow the baptisms, generally very numerous. The sick must be visited and the poor priest worn out with fasting, fatigue, the journey and the heat, has at length to beg his dinner here and there. This meal usually consists of some corn bread, beefsteak and water, without wine, vinegar, soup or oil. Sometimes he is obliged to say two Masses and to preach in places far apart, for the people are very much dispersed, every one being employed in cultivating his own land. There are neither towns nor villages, you see no peasantry nor servants, all the work is done by negro slaves, who are very numerous. . . . In this immense diocese of Kentucky Tennessee and Ohio, there are scarcely twelve priests, including the bishop who is continually on horseback, riding here and there like the youngest of his missionaries. He goes alone without any distinction of rank, save that of taking for himself the most difficult and laborious share of the ministry.

Again on January 5, 1817, he writes:

Missionaries in this country sometimes ride over ninety miles

a day, a fact which in Europe will seem almost incredible. I am employed in teaching moral theology to seven young men, four of whom belong to our company. I hardly believe there exists a country to which the words of the Gospel: *messis multa, operarii autem pauci,* would be more applicable than to this. The missionaries work beyond their strength, going constantly on horseback through these immense woods to assist the Catholic population scattered here and there.

On August 24, he says: "It is indeed a trial for anyone who has seen Rome, to come to this country. I beg your prayers, Reverend Sir, that I may die sword in hand, since my only comfort in the world is this hope."

The visitors remained about a year at St. Thomas'. The priests among them assisted on the missions and taught in the seminary. Under the guidance of Father David, they applied themselves to mastering the English language. Fathers De Andreis and Rosati, as simple as the youngest, struggled with an elementary book in hand to overcome the difficulties. Father David was wont to remark cheerfully "How fortunate I am to teach you English! I shall share in the merits of your apostolic labors, and when one of these days you announce the word of God, I shall, in some sort, preach it myself by your lips."[8] Holy Church may soon enroll one of the three, Father De Andreis, on the calendar of the Blessed; and it is hoped that Father David, so similar to him in sanctity and in other respects, may likewise in time, receive the veneration of the faithful on God's altar.

Before setting out from Europe, Bishop Du Bourg requested Bishop Flaget to prepare the people of St. Louis for his coming. The following letter to Bishop Plessis of Quebec shows the perplexity of Bishop Flaget in the midst of the many demands for his presence and his influence:

St. Thomas (Kentucky), September 19, 1816.

The R Rev M Plessis,
Bishop of Quebec, Canada.

Monseigneur:

In due time I received both the letters you were good enough to write me from Detroit. They renewed in my heart keen, but alas! useless regrets, for in vain is the most perfect contrition when it makes it impossible for me to repair the loss I have suffered by not meeting you. It is not so much my line of action that I blame, for even now it seems to me I could not have done otherwise than I did, but rather my position,

which is truly deplorable and deserving of pity. Indeed, Monsignor, at the very time when you make it a matter of conscience for me to go to Detroit, Bishop Du Bourg writes me that he is sending to St. Louis where he is going to establish his see, a party composed of four priests, four clerks in Minor Orders and four lay Brothers, and that I must set aside everything in order to meet them and accompany them to their destination, so as to settle them in a way, that owing to my knowledge of places and people, I may consider fitting. He also makes it my duty to confer with the gentlemen of St. Louis on the subject of an episcopal palace, the annual revenues, etc., and all this he does by the authority of the Propaganda. Here then is a second duty of conscience imposed upon me almost simultaneously and for places some seven or eight hundred miles apart. Finally, my confessor, Father David, who is on the spot and knows that I am engaged in most important affairs, loudly protests with the declaration that all will be lost if I go away. Which way am I to turn? Nothing less than a special inspiration is necessary to determine me, and of that my continued infidelities make me unworthy. My position is all the more distressing from the fact that I have but two priests worthy of my entire confidence, and to whom I can open my heart with a sense of perfect security. I often make visitations with never a priest with me, while the greater part of the time I have not even a negro to saddle my horse, nor a clerk to answer *Amen,* when I celebrate the Holy Sacrifice. My correspondence which increases every day, depends altogether upon myself and it is at the expense of my recreation and of a goodly portion of my sleep that I gain a little more time by day. Add to this at least five or six hours in the confessional nearly every day since my missionaries left nearly eighteen months ago on a visit to Rome, then all the other details of four or five rather widely separated parishes, the prescribed examinations of my seminarians, and of the young ladies who are being educated in our new convents, in order to give éclat to these establishments, finally, the building of a new brick seminary, capable of accommodating twenty-five seminarians and which is to be finished at Christmas, and of my Cathedral which might of itself occupy the whole of a man's time. Now, Monsignor, you will admire, as I do, the mercy of Divine Providence which preserves my mind and health amid such arduous occupations, and I trust you will unite with me in showing gratitude to Him.

Although you beat a very honorable retreat in so far as concerns my Cathedral, you must permit me to follow you to your retrenchments, and declare that whether you give me assistance *secundum liberalitatem* or *propter scerbitatem* makes little dif-

ference provided that I receive some. In fact, Monsignor, were your church not finished for fifteen years it could cause no loss to religion, whereas here religion would gain infinitely so soon as my Cathedral is completed. What would two or three dollars be to each of your curés? A mere bagatelle. But for me they would be a gold mine. I beg you will pardon my dreams and my folly, *insipiens factus sum,* and pray much for your humble and very poor servant.

✠Benedict Joseph, Bp. of Bardstown.

P. S. To avoid increasing the postage, I have omitted all formalities for which omission I crave your indulgence. Accept my sincere thanks for all you have done for my flock in Detroit. I very much regret that you did not give a final decision as to the place where the church is to be built, for you have as much authority as I have and a great deal more influence. Poor Mr. Richard whom you know well, had his work stopped directly after you left. I look for some good results from the letter that I am about to write in regard to these new dissensions. I shall do everything I can to visit that country next spring. About the beginning of October I hope to have an interview at Louisville on the Ohio River with Monsignor Du Bourg's vicar-general whose name is De Andreis; he is an Italian Lazarist and a man of extensive knowledge and rare piety. As he lives in Rome his conversation will be interesting. I shall tell you about it.

As above B. J. Bp.[9]

Bishop Du Bourg sailed from Europe July 7, 1817, with thirty-one ecclesiastics and other auxiliaries whom he had collected from different parts of Europe. He had the promise of a Religious Order of women to follow soon. This was a colony of Religious of the Sacred Heart under Mother Duchesne. These religious founded in France by St. Madeleine Sophie Barat under the direction of Father Varin in 1800, were now ready to take up the work of foreign missions.

Father David had everything astir for weeks at St. Thomas' in preparation for Bishop Du Bourg and his suite, several of whom however, remained in Baltimore, the guests of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. What a reunion of the three confrères within the hallowed walls of St. Thomas'! What an exchange of ideas, what reminiscences and what hopes! And how jubilant rang the old Kentucky woods with merriment and laughter, with prayer and with song as the seminarians from Europe mingled with those from America during the two weeks of splendid hos-

pitality before the installation in St. Louis (December 29, 1817). To Father David's care and direction Bishop Du Bourg entrusted several of his seminarians to be trained in that institution which was the only one where the torch of higher Catholic education sent forth its rays west of the Alleghanies.

CHAPTER VIII

The Founding of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (1812-1816)

Bishop David's memory to-day centers around the Society of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. Earnestly did he and Bishop Flaget beseech Heaven to furnish the means of forming a Religious Order of women which they deemed indispensable for promoting the growth and perpetuity of the spiritual life of their diocese. In his sermons to various congregations Father David represented the need of a Sisterhood. He portrayed the beauty of the religious state, showed the singular favor bestowed on parents whose children should be called to it, and the reward in eternity awaiting those who fulfilled the condition of the Divine Master: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven; and come follow Me." (Matt. xix, 21). The scriptural promise of receiving "a hundred times as much, now in this time . . . and in the world to come life everlasting" (Mark x, 30), became on his saintly lips aglow with life.

Shortly after the transfer of the seminary to St. Thomas, when Father David was unfolding his plan to the congregation in Washington County, the Holy Ghost enkindled in the heart of one of his listeners the desire to offer herself for the work.[1] This was Miss Teresa Carrico, a member of a family well-known to-day in different parts of the country. The family of Carricos had settled in England from either Spain or Italy some time before Lord Baltimore set out to colonize Maryland. They came to America, if not with him, very soon afterwards, as the name is found among the earliest families of Maryland and Kentucky.[2]

Teresa was a person of mature mind, of gentle, retiring manner and of a loyal, loving nature. Her candor, simplicity and stability of character recommended her to Father David as a suitable foundation stone, because she would always love to be hidden, and a love for the Hidden Life of Our Lord must be the lodestone for each new member, the talisman of her perseverance. It must in a word be the spirit of the Society. He would call their home Nazareth, a reminder to the members that they should strive to mirror in their lives the virtues of the Holy Family.

Teresa, thought Father David, will always serve her Sisters. She will be the Martha of the household, however numerous it may grow to be. And he was right. She became not a Martha only, but a Mary also, and learned in those early days at the Saviour's feet lessons which shone forth in the numerous actions of her long and busy life, and which gave to her words a power to soothe, encourage and impel. After more than forty years of faithful service, she received the Master's summons to her eternal home. Well, may the young and the old of the Society kneel to-day at her grave and beg for a continuance among them of the Christ-like spirit which was always hers.

About the same time that Teresa offered herself, there came an enthusiastic, fervent convert, attracted, perhaps, by the novelty of the undertaking. She was Miss Elizabeth Wells, a sister of General Wells and of Captain Wells, officers in America's second war of independence, then in progress.[3] On the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, November 1, 1812, these two were received into the episcopal residence."[4] Some weeks later, January 21, 1813, they rejoiced over the arrival of Miss Catherine Spalding, a beautiful girl of nineteen years in whom the designs of Heaven were manifest. She was of the Spalding family, which for more than a century has given to the Church in this country members who became prominent in the priesthood and in the hierarchy, as well as in the Religious Orders of men and women. Her ancestors, who were among the first settlers of Maryland, were descendants of the Lincolnshire Spaldings, one of whom founded and gave his name to the great abbey of Spalding, one of the thirteen abbeys spared by Henry VIII but confiscated under his son, Edward VI. Under its fostering influence grew up the town of Spalding as early as the eight century.[5]

Catherine was born in Charles County, Maryland, December 23, 1793. In all probability she was baptized by Father David to whom Bishop Carroll the previous year had assigned the care of souls in that part of the State. She and a younger sister, Anne, were deprived at an early age of the care of their father, Ralph Spalding. Shortly after they reached Kentucky, death also took from them their mother, a gentle, saintly woman who had sown deep in the tender minds and hearts of her children a knowledge and love of God. Catherine was then only ten years of age. Naturally thoughtful, these early trials drew her affections more strongly to her Heavenly Father, whose Providence she even then began to recognize in every event of life.

The two girls grew up in an atmosphere of Christian virtue in the household of their paternal aunt, Mrs. Thomas S. Elder, of Fairfield, Kentucky. Their educational advantages were better than could be found in the homes of most pioneers. Catherine advanced to maidenhood with high ideals, practical views of life and benevolent dispositions.

Mr. and Mrs. Elder were model Christian parents, and their home was a nursery of holiness. In it the two Spalding girls received the inspiration to dedicate their lives to God and two of the Elder children became the parents of distinguished ecclesiastics. Their son, Basil S. Elder of Baltimore, was the father of William T. Elder, Bishop of Natchez, and later Archbishop of Cincinnati, and their daughter, Clementina Clark, was the mother of Reverend William Elder Clark of the Diocese of Louisville. Of him Webb says:

> He was not unfrequently referred to as the pet of the clergy of Kentucky. He was much more than that, however. He was for them an exemplar of piety unaffected, of purity that was angelic, and of goodness that was limitless. His entire character was a reminder to those who knew him intimately, and especially to his associates of the clergy, of that given by sacred history and tradition to the beloved disciple.[6]

Shortly after her marriage Clementina Clark was permitted to take to her own home her two foster-sisters, Catherine and Anne, and it was from this home of comparative ease for those days that Catherine came, three years later, to consecrate her life to God under the direction of Father David.

On the day of her arrival he gave the three young aspirants to the religious life a provisional Rule, allotting an especial time for mental and vocal prayer, for study, for work and recreation. He appointed the eldest, Sister Elizabeth Wells, superior, until the Society should be numerous enough to elect the various officers according to the provisions of the Rule.

On Easter Monday their band was reinforced by the arrival of Harriet Gardiner and Mary Gwynn, members of two excellent Catholic families whose names often occur in the writings of those early days. In his "Journal" of September 11 and 12, 1812, Bishop Flaget has the entries—"Went to St. Michael's, dined with Mr. Gardiner," and "Hte. [Harriet] perseveres in her vocation. Srs. Cha."[7]

On the arrival of these members, Father David had the little band proceed to their convent which was situated on the grounds

of St. Thomas about a half mile from the seminary. It was a log structure containing two large rooms and an attic with several nearby cabins, recently the home of slaves. This was the first Nazareth.

On April 22, 1813, Bishop Flaget set out from Baltimore, whither he had journeyed during the previous November, and several weeks later having reached St. Thomas, he found things had progressed beyond his expectation. In June, Father David conducted the first spiritual retreat of the Community which numbered six. The generosity with which those ardent souls responded to his teachings more than repaid his efforts. At its close in the presence of the Right Reverend Bishop Flaget and the Reverend Guy Ignatius Chabrat he held the first election of officers. It resulted in Mother Catherine Spalding being chosen Superior; Sister Harriet Gardiner, Assistant, and Sister Elizabeth Wells, Procuratrix. The Bishop addressed the little band, congratulating them on their selection from among so many in his vast diocese to embrace the religious state, urging fidelity through trials and hardships, and assuring them that union and charity would secure for them the unfailing companionship of Jesus.[8]

Soon Father David and the Sisters noticed a marked change in Sister Elizabeth Wells. Her buoyancy of spirit gave way to a deep depression, which continued to increase and seemed incurable. It was deemed best that she should withdraw from the Society. Her after history was, however, edifying. Not only did she persevere in the Faith which she had embraced, but she exerted herself in behalf of the missionary priests, by ministering to their temporal wants and generously contributing to the support of church and schools. She ended her days a member of the Dominican Sisterhood, the third Congregation to arise in Kentucky.[9]

Meanwhile the Society grew in numbers. The Sisters gave much of their time to spinning, weaving and sewing, partly for supplying their own needs and those of the seminarians and partly for obtaining a livelihood for themselves and a means of aiding the poor depending on them. One of their first charities was in behalf of several aged men and women whom they domiciled in the nearby cabins. Some of these in turn rendered efficient service at the spindle and the loom when the Sisters were at prayer and study. In their Rule Father David had allotted two hours of every day for study that the Sisters might prepare themselves for their chief occupation, that of teaching. He himself, and often the Bishop, too, gave them personal assistance. The close of a year thus spent found some of them fitted for the class room.

Material equipment was likewise in progress. Two additional log buildings were erected, one which contained a large class room and a reception room with an attic for a dormitory was connected with the convent by a broad passage. The other was for kitchen purposes. It, too, was provided with an attic. This arrangement afforded space for a chapel. Their Eucharistic King was to abide under the convent roof. Lovingly did they prepare the second floor of the convent for Him, and on a never-to-be-forgotten day angels looked with delight on an impressive procession through the beautiful autumn fields. The seminarians and Sisters, chanting praises to their King, attended Father David, who, robed in priestly vestments, bore the Blessed Sacrament from St. Thomas to Nazareth.

His fatherly heart rejoiced at the increase of the Sisters' happiness, a happiness which can be known only to those who have learned to draw their strength and courage and joy from frequent communication with the Divine Prisoner of the Tabernacle. On account of the scarcity of priests, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass could be offered at first only once a week at Nazareth. On other days the Sisters went to the parish church.

Father David, seeing all things satisfactorily prepared, decided to open the Nazareth School in the latter part of August, 1814. The faculty consisted of Mother Catherine Spalding, Sister Harriet Gardiner, and Sister Ellen O'Connell, who was an experienced teacher. In childhood she had enjoyed the careful training of her father, a college professor, and she had come under Father David's spiritual guidance when he was in Baltimore. Hearing of the Society which he had founded in Kentucky, she sought and obtained admission into it. The first day pupil to arrive was a neighboring farmer's daughter, Cecily O'Brien, who eventually became a member of the Society. The first boarder was Anne Lancaster, daughter of Ralph Lancaster of Bardstown, a Catholic prominent in State affairs.

The reputation of the Sisters as teachers was soon established and the rapid increase of students which followed, rendered it necessary to provide better accommodations. Father David in writing to his superior in France says: "they [the seminarians] have made 12,000 bricks for a little chapel, which I purpose to build for the Sisters of Charity whom we have established half a mile from our house for a school for girls. They are now most anxious to erect a more commodious dwelling. I hope this will be accomplished in its own time."[10]

In his humility Father David did not conceive the idea that he was giving to the Church a distinct religious Congregation. He always spoke of St. Vincent de Paul as their founder and insisted that the spirit of St. Vincent should prevail among the nuns. Seeing that their existence was a fact, he sought means for its permanence. Union with the organization of the Sisters of Charity in France directly, or through the medium of the Emmitsburg foundation, was contemplated. Concerning the latter, he entered upon negotiations with Father Dubois, his successor as Superior of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, and later Bishop of New York, also with the Very Reverend J. M. Tessier, Superior of the Sulpicians, and likewise with Archbishop Carroll.

In the following letter to Archbishop Carroll, after showing filial solicitude for the well-being of his bishop and archbishop, he takes up the subject concerning his little community of Sisters petitioning for certain points of distinction which he considered important:

Most Rev. Father:

Bishop Flaget being now on his visit to the remotest part of his diocese, I have received and read your favor of the 23rd of August, and immediately transmitted the contents to him at St. Genevieve, where he will be at the time my letter reaches that place, and whence I presume he will answer your Reverence. Permit me to avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your Reverence the assurance of my profound respect and unvaried attachment. I had the satisfaction to hear from Captain Wickam, who paid me a visit a few days ago, that your Reverence continued to enjoy a good state of health. This news gave me so much the greater pleasure, as I had been alarmed toward the middle of last month with the rumor of the death of your Reverence, it was accompanied by a rumor no less distressing, that our beloved Prelate was in a place surrounded by hostile Indians. These reports, though vague and improbable, threw me into a consternation which it would be impossible to describe. The news of Bishop Egan's death soon discovered to me the source of the first report, but I was not so soon relieved of the anxiety created by the other, which the apparent silence of Bishop Flaget seemed to render more creditable. It was owing to the greater distance of the place from which he wrote which was the portage[11] of the Sioux, which caused his letter to be a month coming. He assures us he is in perfect safety and without uneasiness about his return, which his zeal will protract to the end of November. The success of his visit has greatly surpassed his expectation.

He has already confirmed more than three hundred persons and is only about half of his course, and he administers that sacrament only to those who receive Holy Communion. A revival of faith, piety and religion takes place in every parish which is blessed with his visit. His last letter is from Prairie du Rocher, from whence he was to descend to Kaskaskias, thence to cross the Mississippi and proceed to St. Genevieve, after which he will visit a village of French inhabitants ten leagues distant from that place, then turn to the American settlement twelve leagues distant in another direction: I cannot help feeling an uneasiness concerning his health of which I fear he is too regardless, and for the safety of his return, if the British and Indians should have the advantage about the lakes. I need not recommend him to your prayers. I am sure his preservation is as dear to your Reverence as it is to us.

I am now upon a negotiation with Rev. Mr. Dubois about an establishment of Sisters of Charity in this place. The principal difficulty is about a novitiate which I request to be established here, as it is impossible to send our young women to St. Joseph, the distance of the place and their poverty is an insurmountable obstacle to it. I would also have the Superior of this house to bear the title of *Mother,* instead of that of Sister Servant: First because it appears to me contrary to the spirit of a religious community that novices should call their superior Sister: secondly, because no one bearing the name of servant in this new and half savage country, but slaves, the name of Sister Servant would expose the superior to the contempt of the young boarders —finally because the one who now governs the Community we have formed, has hitherto borne that name. I have already written the Rev. Mr. Tessier on this subject and begged him to confer with your Reverence, as your concurrence is necessary to make any alterations in the Constitution. The novitiate here is absolutely necessary, and were it denied us, we would not effect a union with the house of St. Joseph. As to the name of Mother although it appears to me a necessary consequent of the novitiate, yet if your Reverence would judge it otherwise, I will submit to your decision and suffer the name of Sister Servant, however repugnant to my judgment and to my feelings, to be given to the Superior of our Community—I beg your blessing for myself and seminary and recommend both to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices.

With the greatest veneration and most sincere attachment, I remain, Most Reverend Father,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

St. Thomas Seminary, J. David."[12]
17 *September* 1814.

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The reply in part is as follows:

Reverend and most esteemed Sir:

I should have acknowledged much sooner your most esteemed favor of the 17th of September, if I had not been required to attend to Mr. Dubois' lengthy reasons on the other side, but my final answer has been probably made known to you, that in my opinion the novitiate should be in Kentucky, that the superior should have another denomination than that of *Sister Servant*, and, in fine, it should be a matter of agreement between the house of St. Joseph and your establishment, how far should extend the intercommunity of property, for instance, whether the Sisters received in Kentucky could have a recurrence on and be entitled to maintenance from St. Joseph as Mr. Dubois seems to apprehend, and which indeed I should think an unadvisable and dangerous regulation.[13]

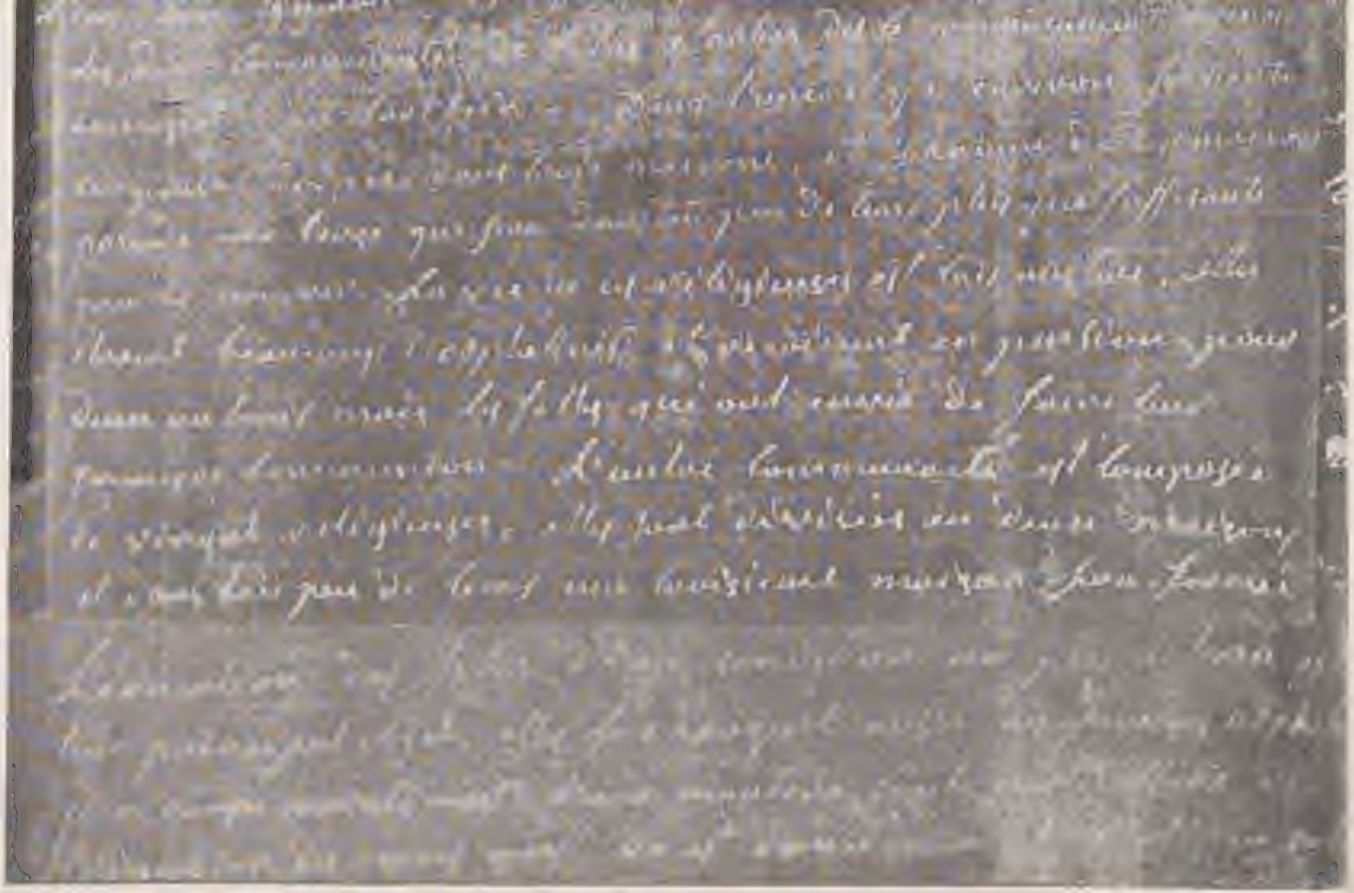
Further correspondence on the subject shows that Sister Rose White was thought of by the superiors as the best qualified to be sent to Kentucky to train the new members of the infant community, but again prudence in behalf of the Maryland house required that she be kept at Emmitsburg where she would be needed to assume the first responsibility in the event of Mother Seton's death.[14] Thus in the ways of Providence it happened that the Nazareth Sisters were to be molded in the practices of the religious life by their saintly founder himself, and that the two communities should have a distinct existence and a distinct history.[15]

Father David caused the Sisters to lay aside the provisional Rule which he had given them and to adopt that of St. Vincent de Paul which Bishop Flaget had brought from France in 1810. Some alterations to suit the conditions of the country had been made in it by the Sulpicians for the Sisters of Emmitsburg. These had received the approval of Archbishop Carroll. Some other minor changes were made for the Kentucky Sisterhood, with the same high approval as well as with that of Bishop Flaget.[16] The Sisters adopted with their new Rule a uniform dress, consisting of a black habit, cape and apron, with a cap which at first was black, but was later changed to a white one, similar to that worn at present.

Father David's instructions upon their rules and the duties of their holy state produced abundant fruit in the lives of the Sisters, and their earnestness in the practice of virtue was remarkable. On February 2, 1816, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, the privilege of pronouncing simple annual

AN EXCERPT FROM A LETTER OF BISHOP FLAGET TO CARDINAL LITTA IN WHICH HE TELLS OF THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH HE HAS ESTABLISHED IN KENTUCKY

Photostat Taken in the Vatican Library by the Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P.



AN EXCERPT FROM A LETTER OF BISHOP FLAGET TO CARDINAL LITTA, IN WHICH HE TELLS OF THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH HE HAS ESTABLISHED IN KENTUCKY

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vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience was granted to Mother Catherine Spalding, Sister Teresa Carrico, Sister Harriet Gardiner and Sister Mary Beavin. On the next great feast of our Blessed Mother, the Annunciation, the profession of a second group occurred, and that of a third on the Feast of the Assumption in the same year. A spirit of emulation for the perfect practice of their Rule prevailed among the Sisters which, together with their almost heroic courage in meeting the hardships of those first years, greatly consoled the hearts of their ecclesiastical superiors.

Almost every Religious Order, whether of ancient or modern times, has been cradled in the poverty of Bethlehem, but of none can this be more truly said than of this Congregation in the western wild where the comforts of life were beyond the reach even of the wealthy. Those who entered could with St. Peter say, "Behold we have left all things and have followed Thee." (Mark x, 28). Some, it is true, had as little as he to leave, but others who could have brought material aid, taking literally the assurance that what God wanted was themselves only, came with empty hands though fervent hearts.

The rapid growth of the school somewhat relieved the strain. In less than four years a brick structure, with all the conveniences that the time afforded, opened its doors to many eager pupils. It was the pride and wonder of the vicinity, and the joy of Father David who saw in this speedy realization of his hopes the mighty Hand of God.

CHAPTER IX

Antecedents to the Coadjutorship (1814)

Prosperity was manifest in everything undertaken since their arrival in Kentucky; yet Father David and Bishop Flaget were not without that special mark of God's love, the Cross. It pressed the more heavily because of the source from which it came and the possible consequences. The conditions on which Father David had been assigned to the Kentucky Diocese were incorrectly interpreted by the successors of Father Emery in Paris and of Father Nagot in Baltimore. St. Thomas' Seminary had not been formally acknowledged a Sulpician institution, and at the end of two years the Reverend Superior in Baltimore wished to recall Father David, whose valuable services he claimed were necessary for St. Mary's Seminary, as that institution was in debt and its faculty in need of reinforcement; moreover, a prospective superior for it should be present.

Every explanation of the assurance given to Bishop Flaget when he was in Paris that Father David would on certain conditions be irremovable, and every representation that his services could not be dispensed with, failed to be effective. An appeal was, therefore, made to the Superior-General. Bishop Du Bourg and the Reverend Charles Nerinckx, who were in Europe at the time, were engaged to explain at St. Sulpice, Paris, the nature of the works in progress in the Kentucky Diocese.

Bishop Flaget wrote to both the Superior-General and to Father Garnier in Paris, and Father David did likewise. The latter took the pains to describe every circumstance that led to his accompanying the Bishop to Kentucky. He told of the letter of the Superior-General, Father Emery, to himself, directing him to remain with Bishop Flaget as long as it was necessary, and to assume the superiorship of the seminary, should one be established.

He showed that St. Thomas' had every claim to the title of a Sulpician Seminary, as it alone fulfilled a cherished wish of their holy founder, Father Olier, to have a seminary in a foreign land where priests could be raised up to minister to pagans and to savages. It was a wish, likewise, of Father Emery, who contemplated accompanying Fathers David and Flaget and in union with them establishing a seminary in the heart of the Ameri-

can continent. Surely, the Hand of God had directed the work and to overthrow it now would certainly be an injury to religion.

Moreover, the spirit of St. Sulpice prevailed at St. Thomas'. Several of the students earnestly desired to become members of the Society. He mentioned their names, told of their capabilities and intellectual status. He went further and requested that aid be sent from France to conduct the work of the seminary on a broader scale. He pointed out the special advantage of the present location, far removed from any institution of its kind, and so central as to be able to extend its influence over a vast area from which it was already receiving an extensive patronage.

The proposition recently advanced to transfer the members of the Louisville See to St. Louis was favorably regarded both by himself and by Bishop Flaget. That section, largely peopled by the French and in the heart of the Indian settlements, would open even better facilities than the excellent ones which Kentucky afforded. He described the house of St. Thomas, its appointments, the daily routine, the labors of the missionaries, and especially his own and those of Bishop Flaget. Finally, he forcibly presented the necessity of the Bishop's having some one on whom to depend for the work in Kentucky, during the long weeks and months of his enforced absence in behalf of the distant portions of the vast diocese.

Father David's letter of November, 1814, remained unanswered. He wrote again early in 1816, setting forth the same arguments and giving additional ones.

What was his consternation to find that Archbishop Carroll, too, was planning his removal by raising him to the episcopacy! Annoyed by such rumors, he was consoled by the assurance that the Archbishop would take no action of general concern without consulting the suffragan bishops. Such had been the agreement in 1810, before they left Baltimore. The fact was, the Archbishop had actually begun a consultation concerning the nomination of candidates for the See of Philadelphia, vacated in 1814 by the death of Bishop Egan. The following is the reply of Bishop Cheverus of Boston to a communication to him.

Most Rev. Father,

> I was honored the day before yesterday with your respected communication of the 23d ult. I have sincerely lamented the death of our beloved brother of Philadelphia and the troubles and divisions which I am told accelerated the mournful event. The mode you propose for recommending a fit person for

his successor, appears the best that can be devised and I think like you that it is proper and even necessary that you should consult the most discreet and experienced of the diocese of Penn. Your Grace remembers no doubt that at the same time that the 4th resolution was agreed to, the recommendation to the H. See of a fit subject for New York was left to you *alone*. I wish also in the present instance that you would take upon yourself to recommend a subject for Philadelphia, for my part I am not competent to give an opinion. I am very little acquainted with the clergy of Penn and have never known exactly what were the difficulties at St. Mary's. Should you, however, wish that I should concur with you in this affair, have the goodness to direct me. I shall feel safe in following your directions. Whatever we do must certainly be done by letter. The distance and the time do not allow any other mode. But the best mode would be that the Venerable Father of the American Church should alone recommend whomsoever in his wisdom he will think the most likely to restore peace to the distracted Church of Philadelphia. . . .

I beg your blessing and have the honor to be with the most profound veneration.

Most Rev Father,

Your most obedient, humble servant and son in J. C.

John, B. of B.[1]

A few months later, he writes:

In answer to your most esteemed communication of the 10th permit me to say that I recommend the two candidates whom you yourself most approve and I will recommend them to the Holy See. I think myself secure and right in following your Grace. If the removal of the Rev. M. David from Ky. is likely to prove a material injury to religion in that country, I would hardly think it right to benefit Phil. at the expense of another diocese.

The same may be said of the distinguished Dr. Du Bourg, but I have been told that his zeal meets many obstacles and I doubt whether N. O. will not become again a Spanish colony and be governed by a Spanish Bishop. It is probable, at least in the present situation of things, that His Holiness will not appoint a Bishop at New Orleans.

The Archbishop's letter to the different suffragans is as follows:

R. Rev. Sir:

The Rt. Rev. Bishops and the Reverend Gentlemen who have been consulted about providing for the vacant Diocese of Philadelphia, conceive it to be their duty to look for the fit-

test subject and [the one] most likely to promote the glory of God, and the benefits of true religion, not only among the clergy of the vacant Doicese but likewise of other Dioceses, with a view of exhibiting their names and qualifications to His Holiness, the Pope. The following persons have been mentioned hitherto of whom some one is most likely to meet the approbation of all concerned in the appointment to be made at Rome.

They are Messrs. David of the Diocese of Bardstown, and Du Bourg, administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana. The first of these is nominated by all consulted, and the second by Messrs. Gallitzin and Hurley of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. The only objection to Mr. David is the difficulty of removing him from the good Bishop of Bardstown. He is eminent in prudence, constancy, ecclesiastical learning, piety, zeal for instruction. The talents of Mr. Du Bourg are generally known, but it may be doubted whether it is proper to nominate him, who is out of this ecclesiastical province, and in an independent station, as administrator of the Bishopric of New Orleans, dependent immediately to the Holy See. You should know, however, that Mr. Du Bourg is very much dissatisfied with his situation, and probably would be glad to exchange it with the Bishop of Philadelphia. The Rev. Mr. Gallitzin has for many years lived so far distant that I cannot speak with confidence of his present dispositions. He has made sacrifices of worldly rank and performed actions of disinterested zeal, his literary and I presume his Theological requirements are considerable. But a strong objection to his preferment is a great load of debt, incurred rashly though for excellent and charitable purposes. The Rev. Mr. Hurley has uncommon talents which, with some leisure for improvement of them, will enable him to acquire eminence in science. He might now be a useful prelate, but in the opinion of some will be more exceptional at a more advanced period of life.[2]

In discussion with Bishop Neale, his coadjutor, the merits of the contemplated candidates the Archbishop said:

> He [Du Bourg] is quite disgusted with the situation (in N. Orleans) which probably he would be willing to exchange for the Bishop of Phila., and which he would adorn by his talents and virtues. But there appears to me much more constancy and perhaps more prudence and perhaps more useful talents in Mr. David.[3]

Shocked by the situation, Father David wrote the Archbishop exposing his sentiments without disguise:

Most Reverend Father,

It seems to be my lot to receive the letters which your reverence writes to our dear Bishop. A few days before Mr. Nerinckx' arrival, he had set out with the Rev. Mr. Chabrat on a visit to the remotest congregations of Kentucky and left me orders to receive his letters and answer them, if there was need. This, however, is not designed as an answer to the one you have written. It is in my own name I now address your reverence, and it is to pour my own heart into yours, and to seek for some relief to the affliction and anguish of mind with which I am oppressed. You can easily guess at the cause. O my dear Father! How could you think of such a poor wretch to fill up an episcopal see? I had reason to hope that you knew me better. Are you then so destitute of subjects worthy of that eminent post, to come and seek in the woods of Kentucky for me who am so unworthy of it? Do not imagine, my dear Father, that this proceeds from humility. Alas! I am a total stranger to that virtue. I know but the theory of it. I have many times preached it to others, explained its degrees, pointed out the means, but never practiced it myself. But I clearly see my incapacity for such a charge. Providence permitted that this news reached my ears but gradually. Rev. Mr. DuBois had first informed me that such rumor was spread about, the improbability of it easily persuaded me of its being false. Mr. Bruté soon corroborated the report and fear began to disturb my mind. Then the Rev. Mr. Du Bourg wrote to Bishop Flaget that he knew it for certain. My alarm was great: but the dear Bishop tried to persuade me that it could not be; alleging that in consequence of an agreement made in Baltimore after his consecration, he was to concur in the election. At length a letter from Mr. Nerinckx put an end to all doubts and confirmed the melancholy news and inflicted on my heart a wound which nothing will cure, but my being left at liberty to refuse, or the news of another's being appointed. Your letter has added greatly to my pain. Rev. Mr. Du Bourg has insinuated in his letter that it were possible that his destination was changed from New Orleans to Philadelphia and in that case, N. O. would fall to my lot. Now your letter seems to confirm this; for after speaking of the appointment of a Bishop for Philadelphia, you say that I and Mr. Du Bourg are the two persons recommended to Rome and among the electors you mention the Vicar of Philadelphia. This forces upon one the idea of a new appointment of Rev. Mr. Du Bourg, and that there is a possibility of his being nominated Bishop of Phd. in which case I should be doomed to N. O. O my dear and most reverend

Father; I earnestly entreat the divine goodness to preserve me from the burden of a Bishopric; but if I must be a Bishop, let it not be of New Orleans. Surely if you did not think a man of Rev. Mr. Du Bourg's eminent talents, engaging address, uncommon presence of mind, fertility of resources, readiness of expression, in a word every quality that can gain ascendency and triumph over obstacles was suited to that arduous task; you could never be induced to believe that such a one as I am, of slender talents, very moderate learning, rough and uncouth manners, slowness of conception, awkwardness of expression, uncommon pusillanimity in danger, perplexity and irresolution in difficulties, dejection and melancholy in disappointments and contradictions, and a thousand other defects which I have discovered in myself in my present station; I am not even fit for the one I occupy; I assure you I discharge the duties of it very imperfectly. The frightful idea of being the Bishop of New Orleans haunts me continually and keeps me in a constant dread. I earnestly beg you to let me know whether these fears are groundless or not. However much I deprecate the misfortune (pardon the expression) of having on my shoulders the burden of the Episcopacy, I might find in that of Philadelphia some sort of relief. . . . I should find a particular comfort in having by me my worthy friend, Mr. DeBarth.[4] . . . Your reverence very rightly judges of the affliction of Bishop Flaget in losing me; for poor and miserable as I am Providence so ordained that I should be necessary to his Diocese. I do not think that he will agree with your reverence in calling the good which God is pleased to do here by my means a private consideration; for it is the good of the most extensive Diocese of the United States; especially if regard is paid to the numerous nations of Indians which fall within the boundary of his jurisdiction I am here endeavoring to form missionaries, and God seems to help my endeavors. I have here eleven promising youths; four have begun logic and advance as rapidly as I can wish, the others follow at various distances. If I am taken from them and no one is sent to take my place, this seminary must be dissolved; every prospect of procuring priests for this Diocese vanishes away. The Bishop of Kentucky is destitute of what he is so good as to consider his support, his comfort, etc. He has declared to me that if I am taken from him he will renounce the establishments which he has undertaken with so much expense and labour, and plunge (it is his expression) headlong into the labours of the mission; and do all the good he can as long as he has life; leaving to those who shall have deprived him of the means of perpetuating that good to answer to God for it. As to the general good

your Reverence expects to procure by putting a mitre on my head; I fear you will be disappointed; 1st because I do not believe I shall ever do much good in a situation so disproportionate to my abilities, and in the 2nd place, because circumstances seem to me such in either place, that a Bishop can hardly do more good than an administrator, or Vicar-General can do. I therefore confess I cannot see how the general good is to be promoted by my becoming a Bishop, even supposing I had the necessary qualifications to be one. . . .

Please excuse my importunity and the many impertinences which have escaped me in writing this letter, and be assured that nothing can be added to the respect, veneration and attachment with which I remain

Most Rev. Father,
Your most humble obedient serv't
J. DAVID [5]

Similar pleadings and arguments were sent to His Holiness Pius VII. They resulted in Philadelphia's being left without a bishop for several years, until the Very Rev. Henry Conwell, Vicar-General of Armagh, Ireland, was consecrated for the diocese in London, August 24, 1820.

Father David's final words to the Superior General in Paris on the subject of his removal to Baltimore were:

I trust, my dear Father, that all these considerations will persuade you that the work which I am doing here is of the greatest importance and that a seminary like this is well worthy (the encouragement) and zeal of our Company. Without doubt it will require some one more capable of governing it than I, but unfortunately I am the only one. I have, as you observe, much to do, and the burden is far beyond my strength, but I put my confidence in God who until now has given success to my undertakings. Oh! what success have not the fervent prayers of our holy Bishop obtained! I know, because Rev. M. Maréchal does not see this establishment with his own eyes, he has done what he has to withdraw me. It would be, perhaps, advantageous to myself to leave me in the obscurity of the Seminary of Baltimore, but it would be the ruin of this diocese. Mr. Tessier speaks of my succeeding him as Superior of the Seminary, and I am almost as old as he. He is hardly sixty and I am fifty-five and a half. I learn with pleasure you have fifty solitaries ready for duty. It will be possible for you to send some to Baltimore and perhaps to Kentucky.

Now, that the affair of my withdrawal has been sent to your tribunal, through the Monsignor's and my letters, you will judge I am resigned to all, but I beg you to consider well that,

ST. THOMAS' SEMINARY, KENTUCKY
Of Which Bishop David Was the Superior

if I return to Baltimore, I shall probably be made Bishop of Philadelphia. The Holy Father has consented to leave me here only because he sees that I am necessary here. Should he learn that I have been withdrawn, he will return to his first decision; because they seem to have a great regard at Rome for Monsignor, the Archbishop's last wishes. Whatever happens—*fiat voluntas.*[6]

Even more cogent were the arguments advanced by Bishop Flaget on the subject of Father David's residence in Kentucky. He averred:

M. David is absolutely necessary not only for the seminary, which exists actually by him, but also as my counsellor and the friend of my heart and affection. Of all the ecclesiastics who work with me, he is the only one on whose knowledge and wisdom I can count with certainty. To withdraw M. David from me is to pluck out my eyes, to cut off my hands. It is to leave me without hope of resources for forming subjects for the Church. It is to replunge my diocese into a chaos similar to that in which it was when I arrived. In a word it is to do all the evil which one can do for religion in Kentucky, without doing any good for the diocese of Baltimore, because M. David has never had an inclination for the duties of a college and to-day he feels an extreme repugnance for them.[7]

The contest lost nothing in warmth and intensity until tidings from Rome brought it to an unlooked for, though happy, end. Meanwhile there was not only remarkable spiritual and intellectual development throughout the diocese, but material progress, too, was in evidence. The year 1816, which saw the completion of the brick convent and seminary, and the Church of St. Thomas, built partly by the parishioners and partly by the seminarians, saw also the beginning of the Cathedral in Bardstown.

The building of this edifice had been delayed for want of funds. At last, yielding to the repeated entreaties of his priests and people and to the promptings of his own heart, the Bishop determined to commence and wrote to Bishop Plessis of Quebec:

Poor though I be, my aspirations are very high; for in a few weeks I am going to Bardstown with all the ecclesiastics I can gather, there to lay the corner-stone of my Cathedral. This Cathedral is to be one hundred and twenty feet long, that is, thirty for the sanctuary, ninety for the nave, and sixty-five feet in width. The foundations are to be of stone, resting on rock; the remainder of the building will be of brick. The

style is to be chiefly Corinthian throughout. The builder who is very able and a good Catholic, believes that it will cost from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars to finish the interior, a prodigious sum which assuredly will not be found in the treasury of the Bishop of Kentucky, but rather in the inexhaustible riches of Divine Providence. Such being my heartfelt belief, I trust you, Monsignor, and your clergy will be the instruments of Providence and procure for me whatever assistance you can to aid me in erecting this pious monument, the first of its kind in this vast territory, and one which will give to the Catholic religion a character of responsibility and stability, proof against storms and tempests. The Protestants of Bardstown and vicinity have so urged me to undertake the work that I should have considered myself guilty of sin, had I not acceded to their solicitation; they subscribed almost entirely among themselves, nearly ten thousand dollars, and I hope to get four or five thousand more in the country, but the remainder must come from the well disposed and charitable of other places and of other religions. Assist me, Monsignor, in this pious undertaking and whilst thus serving the cause of religion, you will oblige in a very special manner him who has the honor to be with the most profound respect.

Your humble and obedient servant,

✠Benedict Joseph,

B. of Bardstown.[8]

On July 16, 1816, Father David addressed a large concourse assembled to witness the laying of the corner-stone of this, the first Cathedral west of the Alleghanies. He gave a lucid explanation of the meaning of the ceremonies. Writing to a friend in France, he said:

On the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the presence of a large gathering from the town and the neighboring country, Monsignor accompanied the clergy, namely three priests, one of them a Dominican, four deacons, three of these, likewise Dominicans, a subdeacon, two clerics in minor orders, and seven tonsured clerics, solemnly blessed and laid the corner-stone of the Cathedral. The ceremony which was preceded by an explanatory discourse, was followed by a most pathetic one given by Monsignor himself. His words of gratitude, of exhortation, and of hope and confidence seemed to touch every listener. He was mounted on a platform and robed in his sacred vestments, with cope and mitre on. It was a most impressive scene for those who had faith, in fact, for all. And with reverent air they received the solemn bene-

diction which he bestowed. If some came to scoff, they returned with a bearing of respect and good will. The Bardstown *Gazette* gave the event praiseworthy notice and referred especially to the paternal affection of the Bishop. The work goes on under the surveillance of six directors, three Catholics and three non-Catholics. They have the responsibility. I am told the most zealous of them is an atheist, but an honest and obliging man, notwithstanding; he never speaks contrary to religion or its ministers. In the bills for the payment Monsignor has the title of Bishop of Bardstown. The Catholics gave him this name and they call the church the Cathedral of Bardstown. When it is completed, I am sure it will be the only one frequented.[9]

Although many were willing to contribute promptly and even liberally to the expense of erecting this temple to the Most High, the aftermath of the war saw the country in a financial depression which was relieved only by a change in industrial conditions, and by the reëstablishment of the United States Bank whose charter had expired in 1811. In consequence, the work on the Cathedral progressed slowly, and it was only after three years that it was ready for consecration with the interior even then unfinished.

With laudable interest the whole diocese looked forward to the great event of the consecration, and the Bishop and Father David arranged every detail which might add to its dignity and solemnity. As to the sermons, it was agreed that Father David would deliver one during the consecration, but there must be a brilliant one after the Gospel to satisfy the expectation of the congregation. After some deliberation they decided to bestow the honor on the first Kentuckian ordained, the Reverend Robert A. Abell. The young orator not only rose to the occasion, but even surpassed the most sanguine hopes of his superiors. His masterly discourse awakened in all emotions of joy and admiration, but in the hearts of the chief toilers who laid the foundation of religion in the State, he touched the tenderest chords and brought forth copious tears of holy love and gratitude.

A half century later the same speaker, bent beneath the weight of years, from the same altar addressed another generation and mingled his tears with theirs as he mentioned name after name and deed after deed of many who had heard him on the first occasion, but who had since passed from the scene of life. Another fifty years went by and he and his listeners were also gathered to the bosom of their fathers, but the sacred edifice stood

as a creation of yesterday, unharmed by its century of years. From far and near came distinguished guests to commemorate the event. The venerable pastor, the Very Reverend C. J. O'Connell, diligent custodian of its traditions, invited illustrious pulpit orators to lend their talents to this celebration a century later.

On the opening day, His Grace, Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, swayed his audience by a vivid portrayal of the glory of the Church in all lands throughout the ages and especially in our own young country. With hearts throbbing with pride and gratitude did his listeners hear:

> Our greetings to-day are to you, Catholics of Kentucky, for you have nobly kept the Faith once delivered to you by the Saints of God; for you have made that Faith to fructify in noble lives and noble deeds; for you from early days, through tears and trials, have preserved in heart and home brightly burning the lamp of faith; for you while holding in those hearts of yours the Faith of your fathers, did in equal measure of devotion serve your country. Nowhere in this land have the Cross of Christ, and the flag of the Republic been more closely entwined, and obtained a more chivalrous defense; while full in front these standards were borne, back in your schools and by your fire-sides was that gentleness and graciousness and culture, which the outcome of your faith and devotion, made of lives here one long, sweet psalm. To Bardstown our greetings to-day. Great men have stood by its corner-stone, and ministered within its walls, and served its people and sent forth missionaries throughout the land. The sceptre of spiritual power may have passed from it, but none may destroy its memories, or dim its glories. It remains the historic shrine of the West.[10]

Shortly before the dedication of the Cathedral, Bishop Flaget had removed from St. Thomas' to Bardstown and in 1818 he requested the Sisters to open a school for the children of the Catholic families. Sister Harriet Gardiner, Sister Polly Beavin and Sister Mary Lynch were chosen for this first branch house of Nazareth to which Father David gave the name of Bethlehem Academy.

The year following Father David and the theologians came to reside in Bardstown. Father Derigaud was appointed president of the section of the Seminary which remained and which was thereafter to be known as the Preparatory Seminary. This event closed the first and most beautiful chapter in the history of St. Thomas'. "As a seminary it had lost Father David, whose hand had guided

it, whose head had enlightened it and whose heart had gauged its life's own pulsations. As actual possessions these things were appreciated, but the full importance of them could be seen only when they were gone. Ever afterwards the students looked back to those days with a kind of holy envy, and they gave to St. Thomas' a consecration that made and not in vain a practical appeal to every seminarian."[11]

CHAPTER X

Coadjutor of Bardstown (1817-1833)

An unusual atmosphere pervaded St. Thomas' Seminary one bright day late in the autumn of 1817, when nature seemed inclined to begin her work of regeneration. The slow mails had reached the woodland home of learning and brought tidings which kindled joy in every eye and made all hearts throb faster. Father David, their beloved president, was the center of interest: the news concerned him.

From the Eternal City the Bulls arrived, dated July 4, 1817, appointing him titular Bishop of Mauricastro and coadjutor of Bardstown. How great the surprise and joy of all! Even he was satisfied. The splendor of the episcopacy thus described could not shock his humility, and the dignity itself gave assurance of God's will to have that work endure whose ruin had been so persistently threatened. Bishop Flaget had not asked for a coadjutor, but had requested his deputy in Rome to ascertain whether Father David could be appointed his coadjutor. And this was the welcome answer. At once deliberations as to time, place, officials, ceremonies for the consecration began. The ceremony could be a splendid one, as they still had with them Father Rosati whose knowledge of the ritual and whose experience in Rome rendered him an accomplished master of ceremonies.

The wording of the Bulls caused the bishop-elect some uneasiness. Although he was two years the senior and less active and robust than Bishop Flaget, the reason assigned for his appointment was the age and infirmity of the ordinary. Bishop Flaget and Bishop Du Bourg after discussing the clause with Bishop David suggested that he write to Cardinal Litta and have the words changed.

The following letter to Archbishop Maréchal, who, as a Sulpician, had been active in urging Father David's removal to Baltimore and who had just become the Metropolitan, gives a clear idea of the difficulties and a further insight into David's beautiful character, revealing his delicacy of conscience, obedience and humility:

> I am, indeed, sorry not to be able to share with Monsignor Flaget the joy which the news of your episcopal consecration has given us. He has been absent since the Wednesday of the

second week of Advent, the day when he set out with Monsignor Du Bourg for St. Louis. Since then I have not heard from him except that he left Louisville the following Tuesday in a little steamboat in which, they tell me, was a troop of comedians en route for St. Louis.

I am quite anxious about Monsignor who has a long journey before returning to us. He is to go to Vincennes to make the necessary preparations for placing two priests there. Mr. Badin is with him. The weather here is unusually severe, rain and extreme cold since he left.

You know now, Monsignor, from Monsignor Flaget's letter to you that I have been named his coadjutor. This news gives me great uneasiness, since I reproach myself with having suggested the idea which otherwise would never have occurred to Monsignor. Caught in my own snares I seek some means of extricating myself. I believe I have it in a clause which, perhaps, is a matter of form, but which is not strictly in accordance with truth. It says that Monsignor asked for a coadjutor *ob provectam aetatem et adversam valetudinem.* This, of course, was not done. Monsignor Du Bourg and Monsignor both advised that I write to Cardinal Litta, not to refuse the office, Monsignor would not hear of that, but to ask permission to change this clause to another which can be read before the clergy of Kentucky. I did so, and my letter is on the way to M. Bruté to be carried by him to Europe. Since its departure several reasons have presented themselves, persuading me that it would have been better not to have written. In the first place, it is a mere formality and does not vitally affect the appointment, then, if that letter goes to Rome, it will be necessary to await an answer before proceeding with my consecration. Since it must take place I should be glad to have it occur before the departure of our good guests, so that we may have the assistance of Mr. Rosati, our great master of ceremonies, and thus procure as much solemnity as possible.[1]

Finally Monsignor is to go in the spring to visit Detroit. I desire to be consecrated before his departure in order to have more authority and grace to preside during his absence which will not be less than six months. Perplexed by these thoughts and the long delay that a letter from Rome shall occasion, and not having near me my dear Monsignor to advise me, I turn to your Grace for wisdom and enlightenment. If you consider that the clause in question requires me to write to the Cardinal and await an answer for my consecration, I heartily consent and wish the letter to go, but, if you judge that the reasons I allege be sufficient to pass the mat-

ter over, be so good as to obtain the letter from M. Bruté and send it back to me, until I at least obtain the opinion of Monsignor Flaget whose return will be soon.

I forgot to mention in order to put you in better touch with this question that Monsignor Flaget did not ask directly for a coadjutor. He wrote to Mr. Nerinckx, his deputy, requesting him to learn from Cardinal Pietro if he could have me for a coadjutor. Mr. Nerinckx, who was not in Rome when he received the letter, probably made a direct application, but neither he nor Monsignor mentioned "age and infirmities," as neither one would do anything surreptitious.

Will you, Monsignor, honor me with a reply as soon as you receive this? Pardon the liberty I am taking. I recommend myself . . . to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices in union with which

I am with the most profound respect,
Monsignor and most Venerable Brother,
Your very humble and obedient servant,

Bardstown, Ky., J. DAVID.[2]
Jan. 19, 1818

Both the Archbishop and Bishop Flaget advised that the letter be sent to the Cardinal requesting the questionable words of the Bulls to be altered. The Bishop-elect laying aside all special reasons cheerfully followed their counsel. Meanwhile the activities mentioned in the preceding chapter being completed, the clergy and the laity looked eagerly forward to the first great event in the new cathedral, that is, to the consecration of Bishop David.

David's tender filial affection for the Mother of God caused him to seek her blessing on every important action of his life, and to choose one of her feast days for the celebration of any great spiritual event. The day when the Church commemorates her transportation by angel hands to her throne in the heavenly realm, was selected for his consecration. Early on August 15, 1819, the spacious edifice was again filled to its capacity. The hearts of all beat high with joyful expectation, because their father and friend who had spent himself in their behalf through all these years was to receive a richly merited honor.

In that assembly were the students of the seminary which owed its existence to him, and the members of the Sisterhood which he had founded. By the hands of the devoted friend of many years, the sacred oils were to be applied which would give additional grace to that already holy soul, and new power to

dispense other treasures of Mother Church to her favored children. Bishop Flaget was assisted in the ceremony by the Reverend Charles Nerinckx, founder of the Lorettines, and the Reverend Samuel Wilson, O.P., Superior of St. Rose's Monastery, and later founder of the Sisters of St. Dominic. The sermon was preached by the Rev. G. I. Chabrat, the first priest ordained in the West and the cherished friend of both Bishops.

The new dignity did not bring to Bishop David any marked change of duties. He continued to be pastor of the congregation and superior of the seminary and of the Sisters of Charity. As vicar-general, he had already a vast jurisdiction. He was organist, too, of the cathedral, and it was to his love of church ceremonial and church music that the splendor of the religious ceremonies so often referred to, and so much admired by visitors from far and near was attributed. One of these in 1826 speaks as follows:

> I have just returned from Kentucky, whither I went to fulfill certain commissions towards the holy Bishop Flaget and some members of his clergy. The prelate showed me his famous establishments and his cathedral. Accompanying me himself on horseback, he made me visit his convents, his seminaries and his colleges, for we must already speak in the plural number of these establishments, scattered in the midst of the forests. I avow to you, sir, that if I ever was penetrated with deep feeling it was while assisting at the Holy Sacrifice in the Cathedral, on Sunday. Torrents of tears flowed from my eyes. The ceremonies, all performed with the greatest exactness according to the Roman rite, the chant at once grave and touching, the attendant clergy pious and modest; everything impressed me so strongly, that I almost believed myself to be in the midst of one of the finest churches of Rome, which I had before thought could not be equalled anywhere else in the world. From the bottom of my heart I poured forth prayers to God for this worthy Bishop, for France, and for those who, by their generosity had contributed to have the good God so well worshipped in the midst of the waving forests.[3]

And from another pen:

> Nothing could be more astonishing, and edifying at the same time, than to see the Bishop officiating pontifically in his cathedral, with deacon and subdeacon, both students of the seminary, surrounded by more than fifty young seminarians, tonsured or in minor orders, clad in cassock and surplice and singing as well as if they had been trained in Paris itself.[4]

The importance of the episcopal city was greatly enhanced by the fact that the two Bishops made it their residence and established in it the seminary and the college.

Bishop David first exercised his episcopal powers in administering Holy Orders to two young men on September 18, 1819. These were the Reverend George A. M. Elder and the Reverend William Byrne. They were the first to be ordained in the new cathedral and were destined by Providence for a special work in the diocese, namely, to become the founders, the one of St. Joseph's and the other of St. Mary's College.

The first was born in Marion County in 1793 and sent in early youth to Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, for his classical studies, and to St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, for his theology. Returning to his native State, he completed his preparation for the priesthood and after ordination was appointed assistant pastor of the cathedral parish. Under the direction of Bishop Flaget he opened a school for the boys of the town. From an humble day school, located in the basement of the new seminary it developed into St. Joseph's College whose checkered history has always been identified with that of the diocese. For almost twenty years Father Elder filled the office of president of the institution. He was a man of winning personality, and universally esteemed for his learning and sanctity.

The second young man, ordained on this occasion, was of a strong, heroic type. He was born in the County Wicklow, Ireland, about 1780. His character was ennobled in early life by many sacrifices made in behalf of his widowed mother and younger brothers and sisters, and by the share he had in the tragic events of 1798 when many of his kinsmen strove with other sons of Erin for the freedom of their native land. These influences contributed to create in him an unusual magnanimity, devotedness and heroism. When quite young, he resolved to dedicate himself in the holy priesthood to the service of God and his neighbor, but not until he was twenty-five years of age did the opportunity present itself. Then he came to America and entered the Jesuit Order at Georgetown. Finding the course of study there too lengthy for his advanced years, he went by the direction of Archbishop Carroll to Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg.

Here he met Mr. George A. M. Elder, and then began their life-long friendship. His theological studies were completed under Bishop David at St. Thomas' Seminary in Kentucky. After his ordination he was appointed pastor of the churches of St.

Charles and Holy Mary and of other neighboring places. Bishop David wrote of him to Archbishop Maréchal: "Mr. Byrne has measured up to your account of him. He gives us great consolation. He is loved wherever he exercises his ministry. Full of zeal and fervor he does much good among his people."

The young persons who presented themselves to be instructed for their First Holy Communion were for the most part unable to read. This deplorable condition caused Father Byrne to determine on procuring for them the facilities for an elementary education. Conferring with the Bishop on the matter, he was given a small farm in Marion County. On it was a building which had been used as a distillery. This he fitted up for school purposes, and in the spring of 1821 there flocked to its portals a number of lads.

He was president, teacher, disciplinarian, treasurer, everything to the new institution. The hearts of his people were deeply touched by his zeal for their welfare, and they cheerfully furnished whatever their means would permit. This was usually in farm produce, and to convert it into money required business tact and energy. He trained the brightest of the older students into a corps of teachers and school officers, so that he himself could attend to the spiritual needs of his flock which extended even as far distant as Louisville.

Providence permitted many trials to befall the institution. Twice it was reduced to ashes to be rebuilt by Father Byrne on a better and more spacious plan. Students came from every part of the State. Soon St. Mary's could offer them a secondary education, and later even a collegiate course. It became known far beyond the boundary of Kentucky, and prosperity bespoke a future which events did not fail to confirm.

In 1833, Father Byrne formed the generous resolution of making the institution, this child which he had begotten amidst such hardships, had labored for by day and night, and had more than once lifted from ruin, a donation to the Jesuit Fathers who for a year or more, were employed on the missions of the diocese. The Bishop readily gave his approval.

The noble donor volunteered to withdraw to a more needy section of the diocese and establish a similar institution asking for the purpose only a horse and a purse of ten dollars. But God demanded a different manifestation of his love and zeal. A negress dying of cholera called for the services of a priest. Father Byrne responded immediately, gave her the last Sacraments

and strengthened her by encouraging words for her passage through the dark portals of death to her eternal home. The next morning, June 5, 1833, having offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, he himself was stricken by the dread disease, and after a few hours of intense suffering passed away, a martyr to duty. One more noble name was added to the list of heroic missionaries in America, one more name added to the many from the Isle of Saints who, regardless of land and of creed and of race, are mindful only of the Master's words: "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me." (Matt. xxv, 40).

Bishop David, in thus giving spiritual power to the Reverend George A. M. Elder and the Reverend William Byrne, was virtually the founder of Kentucky's two most famous colleges, those of St. Joseph and St. Mary. He followed the progress of these institutions with unvarying interest, rejoiced at their success and sorrowed over their misfortunes. He had the satisfaction of seeing each in his day become the Alma Mater of men whose names have an honored place in the American priesthood, hierarchy and Government.

In the following passage from a letter to Archbishop Maréchal it can be seen that Bishop Flaget gave to Bishop David full credit for the success of St. Joseph's College as well as for the existence and permanence of Nazareth Academy, the nearby institution of learning for young women. He wrote:

> Finally, had they in 1815 taken away M. David it would have necessitated my closing the Seminary and closing it forever because even now it is Monsignor David who is teaching theology to thirty seminarians. It is by him that nearly all the professors of the College have been formed, and this College [St. Joseph's] is the admiration of the western country and the resource of Kentucky. There are now in it one hundred and seven boarders and sixty-five day scholars. It is through the indefatigable zeal of Monsignor David that I possess in my diocese a flourishing house of Sisters of Charity who are the worthy emulators of your daughters of St. Joseph at Emmitsburg, and it is he who is the Superior-General and the special director of more than forty of these pious nuns, who are in all, if I am not mistaken, sixty-six. All this good would never have been here, if I had weakly condescended to the reiterated and imperative demands made on me at that time.[5]

As early as 1832, a very high encomium was bestowed upon

this college in our National House of Representatives, an encomium which hardly any other institution of learning up to that time, or perhaps, since has received in that august assembly:

> . . . In this college are taught all those branches of useful knowledge and of science which qualify men for the duties of life and its rational enjoyments. This college, without the aid of governmental endowment, brought into existence and sustained by individual enterprise, will lose nothing in comparison with any college in the Union. Sir, I believe it is the best west of the mountains! In it are annually instructed about two hundred of the youth of our country upon moderate terms. And we have in its discipline a perfect guaranty for the preservation of the morals of our young men. Its portals are open to all denominations. Religious bigotry does not extend its unhallowed influence over the consciences of the professors or their pupils. The benevolence of its founder and its conductors is felt in all ranks of society. The orphan and the destitute find ready access to the benefits of this institution, and when there is an inability to pay the moderate charges of board and instruction, none are made. I will say nothing, sir, of the immense amount of money spent on the buildings of this college.[6]

It seems that these two seats of learning, the first fruits of Bishop David's episcopal labors, should entitle every Catholic institution of the State to a claim on him who blazed the way for higher Catholic education and who while presiding over the destinies of the Church was, as Bishop Spalding of Peoria says, its head while Bishop Flaget was its heart.[7]

CHAPTER XI

The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (1818-1821)

However numerous or burdensome his other duties, Bishop David gave to the Nazareth Sisterhood his untiring care and devoted attention. Each member was personally known to him and wisely directed by him in the path of perfection. "All my Daughters live in my heart," he wrote, "and I carry them every day to the throne of mercy when I ascend the holy Altar."[1] He watched with satisfaction Mother Catherine's remarkable gifts of mind and soul beautifully unfold as the years advanced. He rejoiced at her generous response to divine grace, at her humility which would make her the servant of all, at her zeal which would embrace the whole world and which required to be restrained rather than stimulated. The firmness and maternal kindness with which she ruled, and the respect of the Sisters for her authority assured him that a solid foundation of the Sisterhood was being laid, a foundation which Heaven was signally blessing. "Surely the finger of God is here," he often remarked. In the Lazarists, then guests at the seminary, the Sisters recognized exemplars of their holy patron, St. Vincent de Paul, and they often received from the lips of Father De Andreis and Father Rosati words of counsel and encouragement.

Among the new members admitted in 1818 were Charlotte and Elizabeth Gardiner, sisters of Sister Harriet Gardiner, and known in religion as Sister Clare and Sister Frances. Their grandparents, Clement and Henrietta Boone Gardiner, came to Kentucky from Maryland not in quest of greater wealth, but to gratify the adventurous spirit of their children for pioneer life. They purchased a tract of land in Nelson County, a portion of which is the present site of Fairfield. In building their residence they had in view to accommodate at divine service all the Catholics of the neighborhood, and to make Gardiner's Station the comfortable abode of every missionary. Among other benefactions they donated the ground for the church and cemetery of Fairfield, and in 1821 they gave three hundred acres of land for the erection of a first class school for girls. Webb, in his *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky,* says:

> Never was the religious life adopted, and the world and its allurements abandoned with a fuller understanding of what

was to be gained and relinquished by the step taken than in the case of these three aspirers after places in His retinue whose resurrection to glory was preceded by a life on earth of toil and suffering endured for the sake of the creatures His hands had made.[2]

Gifted with more than ordinary natural intelligence they became exemplary Religious, efficient teachers and wise administrators. All contributed to the guidance of the infant community. Sister Harriet was elected as a member of the first general council in 1813, and later founded the branch houses of Bardstown, Kentucky and Vincennes, Indiana. From the latter place she passed in 1824, rich in merit, to her eternal reward. Sister Clare was the first Superior of La Salette Academy, Covington, Kentucky. The third daughter, lovingly called by her sisters in religion, their "little Moses," because of her gentleness and meekness of character, was elected to succeed Mother Catherine, and alternated in office for many terms. The two, Mother Frances and Sister Clare, having entered the society together, and having spent sixty years in sanctifying themselves and enriching the souls and minds of the thousands with whom they came in contact, departed the same year (1878) for their Eternal Home.

In 1818, death visited the Society for the first time. Sister Mary Gwynn, one of the earliest to consecrate her life to God, had been remarkable for her spirit of fervor and self-sacrifice. A perfect observer of her Rules, she was a beautiful model for all her Sisters. But the hardships and privations of those early years told on her rather delicate constitution and soon the hand of disease held her in its unyielding grasp. On the twelfth of August at five o'clock in the morning she breathed forth her innocent soul into the hands of its Maker. Her death coincided with an occasion of joy at the seminary. The first Kentucky student was to be raised to the dignity of the priesthood. Many clergymen had assembled for the ordination. Father David with the eye of faith saw one of his spiritual children received by angelic choirs into her Home of bliss, and another, armed with Christ-like power, prepared to spend his life warring against the prince of darkness for the deliverance of his fellow-men.

The Sisters laid their companion to rest in the cemetery, midway between the convent and the church of St. Thomas. The occasion was for them one of grateful praise rather than gloomy sorrow, for she had persevered to the end, had reached the goal

for which they were striving and had become their intercessor before the Throne on High.

Mother Catherine's second term of office had expired in 1819, and, according to the Constitutions of the Institute, she was not eligible for a third consecutive term. All were desirous that she should rule the community during the remainder of her life. In fact, Bishop David and Bishop Flaget urged her to do so, bringing forward the example of Blessed Louise de Marillac who, according to the direction of St. Vincent de Paul, continued at the head of the Sisters of Charity until her death, and that of Mother Seton who was doing likewise in the case of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg.

Although probably none loved the Community more than she who had cradled it, yet her deep humility caused her to believe that its welfare would be more secure in the hands of another. God's glory was her watchword. Would it not be better promoted by putting the Constitutions into immediate effect? It seemed to her much better for the sake of the Community and for that of her own soul. She represented, too, that the advanced years and varied experience of the eminent women whom the Bishops mentioned, justified their retaining authority in their respective communities; so well did she plead her cause and so touched were her superiors at her genuine virtue and the forcible arguments which she advanced that they insisted no further.

The election on August 27 resulted in the following choice: Sister Agnes Higdon, Mother Superior; Sister Ellen O'Connell, Mother Assistant; Sister Ann Spalding, Treasurer; Sister Barbara Spalding, Procuratrix.[3] Mother Agnes' administration was marked by new and varied activities in the Community, which had grown in numbers and efficiency so that it could extend its usefulness beyond the boundaries of the Mother House and gratify the desire of the Bishop to establish elementary schools for the young in the lately formed congregations.

The Sisters prepared earnestly for their missions. They were to reside near the schools and besides teaching, were to render to the people of the parish any spiritual and temporal work of mercy in their power. They journeyed from the Mother House to their new homes on horseback, the ordinary mode of traveling in those days when roads were either entirely lacking, or were in such a condition as to render the passage of vehicles unsafe and often impossible. Their baggage was limited to an improvised satchel whose size and weight were no encumbrance to horse or rider.

THE FIRST NAZARETH
Built on the St. Thomas Plantation

On September 8, 1819, Bethlehem Academy, as has been seen, had been opened in Bardstown. In the spring of 1820, Sister Barbara Spalding, Sister Susan Hagan and Sister Elizabeth Suttle went to teach at Long Lick, Breckenridge County, where the Reverend Robert A. Abell had just been appointed pastor. Shortly after their arrival, he fell ill and thus spiritual privations were added to hardships of almost every kind, which the Sisters had to encounter.[4]

In December of the same year Sister Angela Spink, Sister Frances Gardiner and Sister Cecily O'Brien were sent to Union County in the southwestern part of the State to lay the foundation of St. Vincent's Academy. By their persevering industry and generous self-denial they succeeded in establishing an institution whose beneficient influence soon extended far beyond the limits of the county and the State. On the recent occasion of the centennial celebration, devoted children from far away Washington State and from the National Capital, in fact, from every section of the Union turned to greet their Alma Mater. Early in its history the Reverend Elisha J. Durbin ministered to the spiritual needs of the Sisters and boarders. Whatever was in his power to bestow this zealous priest and holy missionary did not withhold. Father Durbin's name is still a hallowed one at St. Vincent's and throughout the Nazareth Community.

In 1821, at the Bishop's request Mother Agnes sent some Sisters to take charge of the infirmary and wardrobe and to superintend the culinary department of the Seminary and College of St. Joseph in Bardstown. The same year the faculty of the college was reinforced by the arrival of a missionary from the Propaganda at Rome.

In response to Bishop Flaget's petition for assistance there was given him by Rome one of the most talented, erudite and saintly students, one destined to become an important factor in promoting the spread of religion in America. This was the Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick. Immediately Bishop David recognized his worth and, notwithstanding the disparity in years, they formed a firm and lasting friendship. When Father Kenrick filled the chair of Theology in the seminary or that of Greek or Philosophy in the college, Bishop David could discharge his episcopal duties without anxiety in regard to the educational part of his charge. In the nine years that Father Kenrick spent in Kentucky his familiarity with Holy Scripture was strengthened and made permanent. His biographer says: "He was as great an authority

on the Bible as Bossuet, he ranked far above Bossuet as a teacher of sacred writings, because his temper, unlike that of the fiery 'Eagle of Meaux,' was perfectly amenable to discipline."[5] Bishop David's skill in patristic lore and his readiness in handling every branch of ecclesiastical science became a wonderful stimulus to the young professor, as did also his habit of systematizing methods so as to attain excellent results without unnecessary expenditure of time and labor.

Father Kenrick's sphere of usefulness was not confined to education, but was extended with equal success to the field of missionary, pastor and director of souls. Nazareth was enriched spiritually and intellectually by his frequent ministrations. Years afterwards when the Holy Father had elevated him to the See of Philadelphia to allay the dissatisfaction which would not yield to Bishop Conwell's sway, Bishop David, then seventy-one years of age, in a letter to a friend bewailed the loss in regard to the spiritual care of the Sisters. He says "A yoke [*is*] left on the poor old Father's neck. . . . If our dear Kenrick had remained with us there would have been no difficulty. The void he left here will never be filled up. However, there was a promise from the Propaganda, or, perhaps, from the actual Holy Father, that a compensation would soon be made."[6]

While Nazareth was laying these first foundations everything at the Mother House spoke of progress. The convent, school and grounds had a most attractive appearance, nature lending her hand toward lavishing every beauty in response to the industry, the genius and the taste of the Sisters. Mother Agnes frequently conferred with Mother Catherine as to extending the buildings for the greater convenience of the growing school and community.

When their plan had matured, they proposed it to the Bishops for approval. But to their surprise no enthusiasm was awakened, In fact, a postponement of all discussion was advised. What could it mean? Was it the shadow of a coming cross? Soon the revelation came, and what a shock! The ground on which they had built was not their own, and never could be theirs. On it they had expended all their savings during those ten years of indescribable hardships laboring in-doors and out and enduring privations which are met with only in a life in the wilderness. Childlike in their confidence, they had never doubted their right to the ground.

Nor could they fully grasp whatever explanation was offered. There was nothing to do but to meet the inevitable, obtaining strength from the example of their Divine Spouse who had borne

wrongs and injustices to prepare them for this moment. And they bravely rose to the occasion, striving to keep unshattered their love and confidence in their leaders and transmit those sentiments to all who should follow them.

Time and the light of research have cleared up the situation over which prudence once saw fit to throw the cloak of silence. In a letter to Archbishop Carroll, Father David wrote "instead of the whole plantation of St. Thomas, as it was understood by you and the Bishop, he [Father Badin] had made over only one-half, so that the Seminary and the house of residence of the poor Bishop is not his own."[7] On that half were situated also the convent and school of Nazareth. The above lines together with the exposition made by the Dominican historian, O'Daniel, and the lucid explanation of Dr. Guilday[8] give the details of this unfortunate situation.

At the crucial moment Providence supplied the means for purchasing a new site and transferring to it the Community and the school. There entered the Sisterhood at this time a lady of highly cultured mind and heart, who brought of her worldly possessions three thousand dollars in money, a negro with his wife and family, several articles of furniture, and material for church vestments. She was Mrs. O'Connor, the daughter of a wealthy non-Catholic, and the widow of Dr. O'Connor, a prominent physician of Baltimore.

Father Chabrat who returned from a visit to France in 1821, had with him recruits for the convents and the seminary. On reaching Baltimore he found several prepared to give their lives to the Kentucky mission, of whom Mrs. O'Connor was one. He communicated the information in the following letter to Bishop Flaget:[9]

Baltimore, June 22, 1821.

Right Reverend and Most Dear Father,

On the 19th inst. I received all my baggage from the New York post boy, and the next day I sent everything in a wagon to Wheeling. Mr. Champonnier went to arrange matters with the driver. Next Thursday I shall leave myself, accompanied by the French Sisters and a few from this place.

I sincerely wish I could have consulted you and the R.R. Father David on this subject. It would have greatly relieved me. I dread to act imprudently and, perhaps, not in conformity to your will and his, still I must say that so far both here and in the old world, I have done nothing without consulting wise and prudent persons whose advice I follow though often in

direct opposition to my inclinations and poor understanding.

A young lady, Miss Dorsey, much recommended by the Archbishop and other clergymen for her piety, etc., applied to me to go to Kentucky and become a Sister of Charity, offering to defray all expenses. I first refused, but I afterwards consented to take her. Next came Mrs. O'Connor, a young and very pious widow, whose much esteemed husband you both know personally. She is in no way destitute of talent, is quite well off in the world, having valuable property: after a little practice she could give music lessons on the piano, etc. Being advised by Mr. Moranville I consented to take her also. She has, with her, a young girl, her protestant brother's child, whom she wishes to be raised a Catholic and for whose board she will pay. There is also another lady whom Mr. Moranvillé is sending to Loretto. . . . In case, Most dear Father, the Right Reverend Father David should have any reason to refuse the admission of these ladies into his monastery, I shall feel much indebted to your kindness and unfeigned attachment to me, if you inform me before I reach Bardstown. I could not consult him, and I am totally ignorant of the present state of his community. I am confident not one of these will refuse to go to Loretto where I hope they would be welcome.

I shall write you again from Wheeling should I foresee that my letter shall reach you in time. My plan is to take the stage for Wheeling, reach there in four days, and then embark on the steamboat—an easy and speedy, but expensive, way of traveling in my present needy condition.

On Corpus Christi the Right Reverend Bishop Cheverus preached here. He feels inclined to go with me to Kentucky for his health, but in his present situation he deems it impossible; he expects, however, to do so next spring. He is always the same and much devoted to you both.

We are all well and humbly ask your prayers and apostolic blessing. My humble respects to all my friends, MM. Sanders, Wickham, Thompson. I shall be much obliged to the last mentioned, if he would have his brother, V. T. T., come to Louisville with his wagon; we really need two wagons for we have four thousand pounds of baggage.

I don't forget any of the seminarians nor any of my friends.

Your all devoted but weak servt.,

G. I. Chabrat.[10]

Mrs. O'Connor, already the possessor of what has been called the essential attributes of a lady, "high veracity," delicate honor in her dealings, deference to others and refined personal habits," soon became at Nazareth a shining example of every

religious virtue. Too brief was her span of life in the Community. During the three years that Sister Scholastica, as she was known in religion, passed before her delicate constitution yielded to a serious pulmonary attack, she had done valuable service as the first teacher of music in the Academy and the trainer of other Sisters in this beautiful art.

The money which she gave the Community was applied to the purchase of land three miles north of Bardstown. On it was the residence of a Presbyterian minister by the name of Lapsley, a man who had often entered into public controversies on religious subjects with Father Badin and other Catholic clergymen.[11]

Early in the spring of 1822, a few Sisters with two servants repaired to the new Nazareth to make a garden and arrange the house for the reception of the entire family. On June 11, of the same year, the Sisters, who numbered thirty-eight, together with the boarding pupils, bade farewell to the beloved spot whose hallowed associations had grown more precious as the day of departure approached. There in the shadow of the seminary had their first years in religion sped peacefully by filled with benedictions, with labors and with sacrifices which satisfied the ardent aspirations of their young hearts. The example of the two Mothers and of Sister Teresa Carrico spurred them to cease repining, and to realize that God had willed another place should harbor them, should be the Mother House of Nazareth.

Bishop David's practical wisdom and ready skill contributed to make the way clear and the burden light. What had been the preacher's study was converted into a chapel and on the morning after the Sisters' arrival he offered the Holy Sacrifice and blessed the buildings. It eventually became evident that the change was no disadvantage. An increased patronage demanded additional buildings. "My children," said Bishop David, "let us first build a house for God, and He will help you to build one for yourselves."[12] His advice was cheerfully followed. His guidance and untiring interest can be seen from the following passage in a letter written some years later to Bishop Fenwick:

> Our school of Nazareth is also increasing, they have about fifty boarders, who are rather crowded in the small brick house and little addition I made last year, when we built the chapel. We think (now) about building a brick house both for Sisters and boarders, but the want of means terrifies us, and it would seem tempting Providence. However, we hope everything from that kind Mother. I began by building a house to our Lord, a handsome little chapel, sixty-five by thirty feet, but it

wants ornaments. We dedicated it to St. Vincent de Paul, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, my holy patron. This gives us the desire of procuring the pictures of those two saints. Reverend Mr. Hill had the goodness to offer me one of St. Vincent de Paul which I have accepted with great gratitude. He tells us you have one of my patron which would make a pendant to his, and as I mentioned to him my desire of having for the middle behind the altar a large picture of the Holy Family, he informed me that you had two of that description. Here is, my dear venerable Brother, a fair opportunity for you to become the benefactor of the Sisters of Charity and put them under an obligation which I shall willingly contract with them of praying for you and the success of your Apostolic labors and undertakings. I hope you will not refuse to extend to these useful Sisters the liberality of Cardinal Fesch and the other generous souls who have so abundantly provided you with those pious subjects. The Sisters have an excellent painting of St. Catherine of Siena, which you may, perhaps, remember having seen in Bishop Flaget's room. They will willingly give it to the Sisters of St. Dominick, and any other thing which their poverty would permit them to dispose of.[13]

Among those who on July 18, 1821, accompanied the Reverend Guy Ignatius Chabrat from France were Mr. Champonnier for the seminary, and several candidates for the convents. One of the latter was Eulalia Flaget, a niece of the Bishop. She was a gifted, high-spirited young woman, and became an efficient teacher of music and French at Nazareth. When Father Chabrat acquainted Bishop Flaget with the fact that Eulalia intended coming to America to enter the convent, the Bishop wrote him:

The news which you give me in regard to my niece, Eulalia, perplexes me more than I can express. I sincerely rejoice at her vocation to the religious life and, above all, at the consent to this vocation by her father and mother. But that it be in America that she follow it, in the convent of Nazareth or any other house dependent on that establishment, that is what I do not see clearly, and that I find a difficulty in believing. It is true that two or three French religious who would have a perfect knowledge of their language and could teach it, would render important service to religion, if besides they had that ardent love for the cross to make the greatest and most generous sacrifices, but has my niece the talents? Has she the strength of soul? Although I have a pretty good idea of Eulalia's virtues and of her vocation, I shall refrain from deciding that she come; more information than I have at my disposal would be necessary before expressing myself. You, to all ap-

pearances have already seen her, and you will see her again. You know the Parisians, their customs, their manners better than I, you can decide whether it is best for her to sail or to remain. A young lady who should have this vocation and who should know music, would be of great utility.[14]

After the ordination of Father Champonnier, March 20, 1823, Bishop Flaget gave him charge of Vincennes. Naturally this congregation, the scene of the Bishop's first labors in America, was one of special interest to him. Only now was he able to appoint from his own Diocese of Bardstown a pastor the first to reside permanently in Indiana.[15] A few months later he went himself to arrange whatever pertained to the welfare of the parish, and Bishop David gratefully received the information "that the people of Vincennes ardently desired to have amongst them an establishment of sisters to conduct a school."[16] A colony was at once selected with Sister Harriet Gardiner as superior. The Sisters could not be spared from Nazareth, however, until the following March as the void caused by a foundation in Scott County a few months previous was still felt.

The richest and most beautiful part of Kentucky, the blue grass region of which Lexington is the center, had so attracted the first emigrants from Maryland, that some of them were induced to separate from their fellow-travelers and cast their lot among strangers, despite the fact that they would thereby suffer a dearth of spiritual aid. The historian Webb suggests that the worldly motive which prompted them bore its fruit.[17] Repeated efforts made by ecclesiastical authority to mold this portion of the flock into a docile, God-fearing people met with little success. At length Bishop Flaget chose for pastor Father Chabrat in whose abilities he had implicit confidence. In the letter announcing the appointment we find the following reflections on the possible cause of the perplexed conditions, and fatherly exhortations as to how to conduct oneself securely, notwithstanding hostile environment:

How people are to be pitied when they act only by ruse and finesse! Soon or late the truth will come to light and all the scaffolding of vanity and falsehood will disappear as the shades of night at the approach of the day star. For the love of God, my dear son, be frank and loyal in all your proceedings. Banish forever dissimulation and artifice from your heart. Establish your whole conduct on the unshakable pillars of the wisdom of God, and nothing will be capable of touching it, or, at least, of injuring it.[18]

To render the zealous efforts of the new pastor successful, the Bishop thought it advisable to send a colony of Sisters whose kind ministrations to the children and people would contribute to heal dissensions. Mother Catherine Spalding was chosen for this difficult mission which Bishop David placed under the protection of Mother's patron, calling it St. Catherine's Academy, and Bishop Flaget wrote thus to Father Chabrat of the Sisters' coming:

> Sisters Catherine, Josephine, Bibiana and Mildred leave this morning (April 23, 1823) for Scott City, and I assure you it is a great sacrifice for them to obey, for these poor children know that scarcely any one in that county is pleased to see them come. The road from Nazareth to St. Pius Church will be for them a real Via Crucis, and this is what makes me hope that God will bless them.
>
> Three of them were directed by you for a long time, and have certainly profited by your instructions, they again claim them and beg me to solicit them from you. Your kind heart and the love for religion which urges you, assure me that their humble request will be cheerfully and favorably heard, and that you will do all in your power to utilize their services. Yes, very dear child, let grace triumph in your heart. Your spiritual care will be always in proportion to your sacrifices. Is it not for a crucified God that you are working, a God who never did His own will, and who promises only persecution to those who wish to serve Him with piety? If this school takes well, as I hope it will, two or three more Sisters may be sent. In a word, all will be done in our power to make that establishment solid and flourishing. On your part endeavor to form it with the same zeal which you have displayed at Bethania, after all, it is always for the same Master.[19]

After a decade of years marked by alternate success and failure, St. Catherine's Academy was transferred to Lexington in Fayette County. The Catholic history of this city extends farther back than November, 1793, when the young and zealous missionary, Father Stephen Badin with his venerable companion, Father de Barrières, reached it. It was there for the first time within the boundary of the state which was to be the chief scene of his apostolic labors that Father Badin offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

The Catholic population of Lexington grew gradually by a happy tide of emigration from Ireland and from different parts of Europe. These people, more bent on securing pleasant homes than amassing worldly wealth, sought this interior spot where

church and school and fertile fields pointed to the higher things of life. They readily adopted the customs of the country and formed at an early date an ideal congregation whose reverence for the priestly character had made them singularly responsive to the wishes of their pastors. The influence of these Sisters in molding the hearts and directing the aspirations of the young was felt in every household. Now in her centennial year, St. Catherine's Academy is bountifully shedding her blessing on a third and a fourth generation of grateful children whose love and admiration promise loyalty for generations yet unnumbered.

Mother Catherine had hardly established St. Catherine's when a sad event called her to the Mother House, and placed again in her hands the reins of government. On September 24, 1824, Mother Agnes Higdon was suddenly cut off by death in the midst of her labors. In electing Mother Catherine to succeed her, the Society showed its wisdom, as another could hardly have extricated it from the difficulties consequent on so unexpected a change. While Bishop David, as has been seen, was ready to give counsel and proffer suggestions in all temporal affairs, he encouraged superiors to look after many details. So full of weighty events was Mother Agnes' career, that one is not surprised to learn that she failed to commit to writing several business transactions. Whatever embarrassments ensued were happily relieved by the next administration, which witnessed a most gratifying spiritual and temporal growth of the Society.

Mother Agnes was not the only flower transplated from Nazareth to the heavenly garden during 1824. Among the beautiful souls, rich in the promise of further usefulness was Sister Scholastica O'Connor at whose bier Bishop Flaget, recounting in the presence of the community and several clergymen the generous sacrifice of her noble life, could not refrain from tears.

And another was Sister Columba Tarlton, whose memory comes down to us laden with the aroma of sanctity. Interesting indeed, are the incidents connected with her long and patient sufferings, borne without murmur, without a wish to have them alleviated. On one occasion, however, having tried in vain to partake of the food prepared for her, she remarked, "I wish I had a partridge, I think I could eat that." Sister Teresa who had been attending her, passed into the kitchen, sad at heart that she could nct gratify the poor invalid's desire. Immediately a partridge alighted on the threshold and suffered itself to be captured.

Among those privileged to spend from time to time some precious minutes at the bedside of this dear servant of God was

Margaret Carroll, one of the older pupils of the school. Her heart was responding to the invitation of the Holy Spirit to become the spouse of Him who had given to this beloved teacher such a celestial charm in health and in sickness. The dying Sister requested that when Margaret became a Sister of Charity, she should bear the name Columba. This was realized a year later.

Another tradition is that at her death, Bishop David, who was on a distant mission, remarked to his companion, "Let us return to Nazareth, Sister Columba has just died." It is thought that her soul, on throwing off the shackles of the flesh, appeared to her spiritual father to tell him she had reached the happy goal whither he had been guiding her since first, as a pupil at the convent on St. Thomas farm she had come under his wise direction.[20]

CHAPTER XII

Church Progress (1820-1826)

Bardstown was among the first settlements of the State, having received its corporation charter as a town from the Virginia Legislature. When Father Badin reached it, shortly after his arrival in Kentucky in 1793, he found among the inhabitants but one Catholic, Mr. Anthony Sanders, a worthy representative, however, of his Church. By the influx of Catholics into the State[1] shortly before 1810 the little town grew rapidly into prominence, for, led as it were, by a beckoning star, the newcomers made Bardstown their goal; so that in less than a decade of years after it had become the episcopal See, it was decidedly the Catholic center of the West. Within a radius of about twenty miles were institutions of learning and religion bearing names suggesting hallowed associations, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Loretto, Calvary, St. Thomas.

Bardstown itself was frequently the scene of many an august gathering of prelates, clergy, seminarians and Religious. No wonder the Spirit of Evil became alarmed, and used his wiles to check or destroy the work. He strove to sow the seeds of hatred and envy especially through the agency of ministers of other creeds. The itinerant preacher was no unusual figure. Furnished with a store of old and newly-made calumnies, he flung them boldly against the teachings and fair name of Holy Mother Church. Few books in defense of Catholic doctrine were within the reach of the people and, such as were, were hardly of value to present the precise phase of thought needed; nor was there a Catholic press to put the necessary weapons into the hands of the defenders.

The only remedy and the popular one was to meet the assailants in public controversy. This the early missionaries saw from the beginning was imperative. To defeat them was not often a great difficulty as they were poorly armed with logic and learning, but richly provided with the "impudence of ignorance." Fathers Whelan, Badin, Abell, and Kenrick at times took the field.

It happened that shortly after his consecration even Bishop David was forced to enter the arena. He had been giving a series

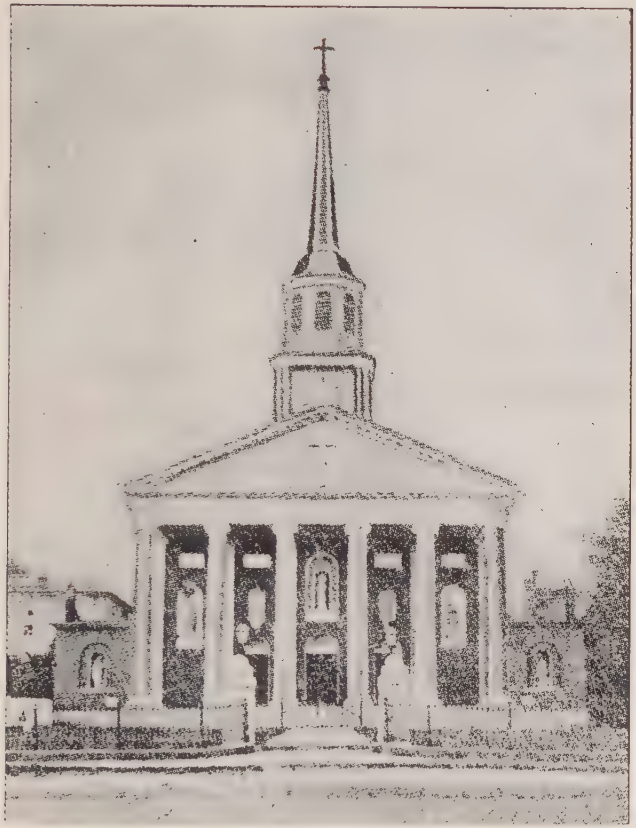
of lectures in the Cathedral on Catholic doctrine. There resided in Springfield, at the time a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Nathan Hall, a man of powerful frame, stentorian voice, fluent speech and presumptuous self-confidence. He was of the type to create a sensation and attract a crowd that would readily take his loud declamations for arguments and his positive assertions for proofs. No little stir was aroused among the people of Bardstown by his frequent visits for the purpose of attacking and impugning Catholic doctrine. On one of these occasions he announced a meeting in the courthouse to treat of the very subjects under explanation in the Cathedral.

At Bishop Flaget's request, Bishop David took up the defense. For days before, public prayers were offered to repair the blasphemies which would be uttered, especially against the Blessed Sacrament, and to implore God to grant that this controversy would redound to His glory and heal the wounds inflicted on charity by reiterated attacks, so violent, so misleading and so widespread.

At the appointed time an immense crowd assembled at the designated place, eager to gratify their singular fondness for oratory. "No Athenian or Roman audience ever yielded themselves to the charms of eloquence with more passionate love than the people of Kentucky in the day of Clay and Marshall and Crittenden."[2] The frequent camp meetings and great revivals, with their jerking, falling, jumping, running, climbing or barking religions, whetted the appetite of the masses for this peculiar kind of oratory which would offer material for their aggressive attitude towards the Catholic population.

Hall opened the meeting with a discourse of two hours during which his stormy eloquence gave vent to various accusations against the Church, charging her especially with idolatry in the veneration of the saints, of relics and of images.

In a calm, deliberate, logical discourse of about the same length, Bishop David took up one point after another, proving its falsity and basing his assertions on the testimony of the Fathers of the Church and Holy Scripture. He challenged his opponent to close quarters, urging him to reduce his objections to a simple, logical form, so that the listeners could more readily grasp both sides of every question; or put them in writing that the reading public might have full benefit of the discussion. Hall would consent to neither, but bitterly made rejoinder. When he had satisfied himself and tired the audience, he broke up the meeting.



ST. JOSEPH'S CATHEDRAL, BARDSTOWN
Of Which Bishop David Was the First Pastor

The more intelligent Protestants gave unstinted praise to the Bishop's clear exposition of Catholic belief, his forcible reasoning, also his dignified, Christ-like bearing. One of them, Mr. Hayes, a lawyer and one of Kentucky's noted orators, remarked that while the Bishop was speaking, the admirers of Hall "looked like owls when the sun was shining."[3]

Since the opportunity for disproving the last charges of Hall was cut off, Bishop David determined to give in print the defense, for the benefit not only of those who were present at the controversy, but for all the reading public. He did so in a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, entitled *Vindication of the Catholic Doctrine Concerning the Use and Veneration of Images, the Honor and Invocation of the Saints and the Keeping and Honoring of their Relics.* (S. Penn, Louisville, 1821). In this he summoned a vast array of evidence to support the teaching of the Church. Hall made a *Reply.* This brought forth from Bishop David a second pamphlet of one hundred and six pages, entitled, *Defense of the Vindication of the Catholic Doctrine concerning the Use and Veneration of Images, the Honor and Invocation of the Saints and the Keeping and Honoring of their Relics, in answer to the Reply of Rev. Nathan Hall.* (James W. Palmer, Lexington, 1823).

In the Introduction, Bishop David asserts that controversial discussions, if carried on without prejudice, animosity or acrimony, but in a spirit of charity, moderation and candor, are very beneficial to minds sincerely seeking for truth; that he entered the present controversy through a pure love for truth and a sense of his obligation to defend the Catholic Faith and convey to every mind the precious light of the Gospel. He calls the work at hand a painful task; not on account of any difficulty in solving the objections, but because there was not a page, hardly a sentence, where there was not an error to be refuted, a misrepresentation to be redressed or a false reasoning to be exposed.

He shows that the minister's attempt to deny himself to be the aggressor was absolutely illogical. Catholics hold the affirmative side of the doctrines under discussion, and their opponents the negative. The part of the negative is to attack, that of the affirmative to maintain.

He appeals to the testimony of the respectable audience that attended the discussion in the courthouse to decide whether any personal attack was made on the Reverend Minister who complained of such in the *Reply,* and who made a comparison

of Bishop David to Goliath and of himself to the "strippling" David. Bishop David suggests that such a comparison must have been intended to preclude the contrary which might arise, he says, from "my name, my quality of Pastor or Shepherd, my pastoral crook, my diminished stature before the athletic appearance of my antagonist, my diffident address compared to his bold, loud and animated declamation."

His opening of the lengthy, learned and interesting *Defense* was:

> I had not far progressed in the examination of the reply, when I found myself in the condition of one, who travels in a heavy rain; that is, assailed with a shower of chosen epithets, qualifications, appellations, &c., pouring upon me with abundance and unrelenting vigor, from every page of this elaborate writing. But this was no new thing for me, nor for those of the readers, who had heard in the courthouse, the animadversions of the Rev. Gentlemen on the same subject. Therefore, fearless of those impotent effusions, I wrapped myself in the impenetrable mantle of charity, and confidence in the promises of my Saviour, contained in the text cited in the title page; and pursued my journey through the intricate volume. I had the satisfaction to see the copious streams turned aside, and not to feel one single drop penetrating to my heart, which ever remained warmly disposed to return good for evil, and to overcome, if possible, evil by good.
>
> However, I must confess that I was rather astonished to see myself charged with the imputation of considering myself as "such a perfect Herculean writer, as to be able to answer *any thing that may be written.*" I have, indeed, the confidence of being able with the assistance of God, on whom I solely rely, to answer all the objections of Mr. Hall and his associates, against the Catholic Faith; but I do not for that consider myself as a *Hercules* in writing. Nay, it seems to me that the unassuming tone of my *vindication,* the unaffected plainness, and sometimes, negligence of my style, must have precluded such an idea from the mind of my readers: and, indeed, my proceeding in the perusal of the reply, soon convinced me that this appellation much better suited my powerful antagonist; for I had not far advanced, before I beheld him, as a formidable Hercules, making towards me, with his uplifted club, and aiming at my head a deadly blow. I trembled but, lo! I saw the mighty arm of the wrathful hero taking an oblique direction, and discharging the destructive strokes of his tremendous vengeance on a hideous image placed by my side (for these gentlemen are also great image-makers, not

indeed to worship them, but to have the pleasure of crushing them to pieces). The image represented a Bishop, somewhat of my size, *cloaked in the hideous mantle of ignorance and superstition,* surrounded with graven images, image Gods, likenesses of things male and female, &c. &c. besotted with them, paying them divine honors, and exhorting a multitude of image lovers like him to join in the idolatrous worship. Oh! what blows the valiant hero dealt at them! How was the poor Bishop crushed to atoms! How many of those stupid idolaters were levelled with the dust! What a frightful wreck of graven images, *simulacra,* idol trumpery, &c. fit only to be thrown to *the moles and to the bats!* What glorious trophy! what victory! what triumph! But let us speak without figure. It is the judicious remark of the learned editor of a late publication, that, "having frequently had the opportunity of witnessing the modes of attack upon the Catholic religion, by those writers who assail it, he has almost uniformly observed that they never assail, either the tenets of that religion or its practices, in a fair, candid and honorourable manner. They first caricature what they mean to decry, and then expose to ridicule and execration the distorted object which they exhibit." There can hardly be a more striking instance of this unjust way of dealing, than in the reply which I here undertake to refute, as the sequel of this defense will show.

Bishop David then examines and evaluates argument after argument refuting, or exposing false reasoning, and concludes:

I have now gone through the painful and tedious task of refutation. It has swelled up to a larger size than I had, at first, anticipated; yet I have noticed and refuted only the most material errors and objections of the *Reply.* Many are left unnoticed, the refutation of which the sincere reader will easily find in the principles laid before him, in refuting the others. It has cost me much time and labour; but this I do not regret: I rather rejoice and praise Divine Providence, for having furnished me with that opportunity of tearing off the hideous mask with which calumny and misrepresentation had covered the fair face of Christ's spouse, the holy Catholic Church; and of exposing to my brethren of other religious denominations, her real sentiments and genuine practice. I hope I have said enough to destroy the sinister impression which the *Reply* may have produced on some of its readers, and to show clearly to every unprejudiced Christian, that Catholics are no idolaters in the use they make of the memorials of Christ and His Saints, in desiring the prayers of the latter, or in paying to their precious remains the high

respect and veneration due to them. I have still before me an abundance of matter on those interesting topics, which I forbore setting before my readers for fear of becoming tedious; but which, in case of a second reply, shall go forth to corroborate the arguments which have already set in evidence the *innocence* and precious *advantages* of the Catholic doctrine and practice.

May God, who has commanded the light to shine out of darkness, bless this Defense, written for the sole purpose of dispelling the darkness which the Reply had thrown on the Catholic doctrine. May his divine light *shine in the hearts* of my readers, *to give them the knowledge of his glory,* which is the only aim which Catholic propose to themselves in the use they make of holy images, in their prayers to the Saints, and in their veneration of their relics; *in the face of Christ Jesus* our great Meditator, through whom alone we have access to God and expect all blessings from him. *Amen!!*

His opponent disappeared, leaving Bishop David master of the field. The victory was a joy to the Catholics who clung the more devotedly to the teachings of their Holy Faith and glorified in its able ministers. Bishop David on sending a copy of the pamphlets to Archbishop Maréchal modestly said: "I have actually worked out a response which I take the liberty to send you. I know very well that such writings require a better head and pen; but we are too few here. Obedience obliged me to appear on the scene where I tried to do my best."[4]

The method of controversy used on this and previous occasions did not appear to Bishop David the most salutary, as there often resulted a greater breach, in fact an unsurmountable barrier, especially in regard to the more ignorant onlookers. What he considered a good course was "the opening of the missions *in partibus infidelium* by able and winning sons of the Church, and inviting non-Catholics to come and listen to the exposition of her doctrine and her historical claims."[5] A still better one was the holding of a conference by two clergymen, the one asking questions concerning Catholic doctrine and advancing objections against it; the other responding and defending. Thus the minds of earnest seekers after truth were satisfied and Catholics were taught how to defend their Faith.

This latter mode was adopted throughout the diocese during the Jubilee (1825-1827), and the best theologians and speakers were employed in giving the missions.[6] When the Jubilee opened in the Cathedral, September, 1825, the Reverend George A. M. Elder was the questioner and the Reverend Francis P. Kenrick

was respondent. These conferences awoke the deepest interest, and wherever the missionaries appeared, Protestants thronged to hear them and many conversions resulted.

When Rome finally granted the request to divide the western territory into several Sees, and the Diocese of Cincinnati was erected in 1821, Bishop David was proposed by Archbishop Maréchal to be its first bishop.[7] The importance of the seminary, however, and his indispensable services in Kentucky, having been so recently embphasized, Rome would hardly consider transferring him. The choice fell on the great Ohio missionary, Father Fenwick, O.P., founder of the Order of St. Dominic in the United States. On the occasion of his consecration at St. Rose's, Springfield, Kentucky, on January 13, 1822, Bishop David preached the sermon.

In all deliberations concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction he took an active part, with his confrères, in whose hands was now the entire government of the American Church. That his judgment had weight may be seen in the following letter to the Archbishop:

St. Joseph's Seminary, 25th July, 1820.

Most Rev. and Venerable Brother:

Your letter to Monsignor Flaget, dated June 30th, has arrived, and as he has been absent for some time I have opened and read it. I am surprised to learn therein that you have consented to a dismemberment of the Diocese of Baltimore. When Monsignor Flaget showed me Monsignor Du Bourg's letter to the Propaganda, I refused to sign it unless the conditions which you desire be precisely mentioned. We agreed that the dismemberment should not be made without your consent, that New Orleans would not suit us so well as Baltimore for a metropolitan see, that the contemplated division should not be made yet, that Monsignor Du Bourg could, if he so wished, establish an archbishopric in his own immense diocese, that there will be time enough later to consider the formation of a second one on this side of the mountains. Monsignor Flaget remarked that Bardstown or Louisville would be a more suitable location for it than either St. Louis or New Orleans. Were I younger, I should object to such a proposition, but entering my sixtieth year and not being likely to survive my dear Bishop, there is no danger that I shall ever be made archbishop.

After these decisions were reached by us, he directed me to write out the restrictions for our signature. I did so on a loose sheet of paper. Monsignor approved of them and said

he would add them to Monsignor Du Bourg's letter. It is quite likely that he forgot to do so. I beg you, My Lord, to rest assured that I am of one mind with you in the matter. I have no desire that Monsignor Du Bourg be our metropolitan. Although it will be of advantage to the Church to establish a metropolitan see in the West, it is hardly opportune at the present time.

I suggest that you write to Rome to the effect that you consider the dismemberment of your diocese premature, and also give your opinion as to Louisiana's being raised to that dignity.

Mr. O'Brien who has come to join us, reports that you have information of Rome's considering for Philadelphia a priest who missed by one or two votes being made primate of Ireland. If this be so, Mr. Gallitzin could be nominated for Detroit. Would that the Jesuits had that post, the gateway to the missions among the savages, where the names of our holy missionaries are held in benediction.

I am greatly rejoiced at what you tell me of the progress of religion in Georgetown and in Washington and especially of the flourishing condition of the Visitation Convent. . . .

I conclude by recommending myself to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices, and by assuring you of the sincere attachment and deep respect with which I am, My Lord and Venerable Brother,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

✠John B. M., Bp. of Mauricastro.[8]

In the Jubilee year when the vitalizing power of religion was quickening the souls of the entire flock, and notably increasing their number, the educational institutions of the diocese stood out with renewed lustre.

It became imperative to extend the buildings of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, which was then filled beyond its capacity. The Reverend M. Martial, a personal friend of Bishop Flaget had been professionally engaged in a Louisiana college which was forced to close in 1825. The parents of fifty students gladly consented to his transferring their sons to St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. This was the beginning of a southern patronage which with slight intermissions continued through a long period.

Coincident with it and, perhaps depending on it, was the opening of Nazareth's doors to the daughters of the best representative families from the same wealthy section of the country. Many of these newcomers were young ladies who remained for several years pupils of the institution. This fortunate circumstance caused

the curriculum to be raised to a high standard. So excellent was the work done by the institution that the Bishops advised the Sisters to open it to public inspection. Accordingly in 1825 public examinations were held. To these the parents of the pupils and other friends of the institution were invited. The result was most gratifying.

More than fifty years afterwards, one of the pupils, Eliza Crozier, now Mrs. Wilkinson, in her reminiscences of Nazareth wrote:

> Our examinations were public, not as public is now understood, when Louisville and other places can fill without difficulty the great exhibition hall, a capacity of two thousand, but the best part of the people of the vicinity and such of the children's relatives from a distance, as might be at Nazareth, were present.
>
> The Reverend Professors of St. Joseph's College usually examined us, or handed the text book to some gentleman and scholar who might be present. There were no speeches or dramas in those days, and the reading of a graduate's composition was not done by the young lady herself. . . . When I finished my course at Nazareth, my valedictory was read aloud by Father Reynolds, my name being first given, while I, agitated and crying, tried to hide myself as much as possible behind the girl next to me! Henry Clay was present on that day and I had my premium from his hands.[9]

Far beyond the boundaries of the State the institution was looked upon with interest. A writer in the *Catholic Miscellany,* of Charleston, South Carolina, in its issue of April 6, 1825, said:

> The monastery of Nazareth, near Bardstown, did not present to me so rugged an exterior. A handsome brick church not yet completed by its side, no less than its agreeable situation on a small eminence, contributed to its beauty. On being informed of the system of education and the moderation of the house discipline, I wished my daughters were in my company, that I might consign them to the care of these good Sisters, from whose instruction and example joined to their own good disposition with God's grace, I should hope they would become models of every virtue and ornaments of society.

Four years later, 1829, the Right Reverend Bishop obtained from the State Legislature a charter, incorporating the Sisterhood as the Nazareth Literary and Benevolent Institution. He then handed over to the Sisters the deeds of the property which they

had acquired up to that time. A spirited discussion arose in the House of Representatives in Frankfort concerning the granting of the Bishop's petition.[10]

The Jubilee year had hardly passed when there entered the Seminary of St. Joseph a Kentucky student whose name later became identified with the religious history of the State. Martin J. Spalding had been one of the boy-professors at Father Byrne's College of St. Mary, Marion County. At the age of fourteen he handled the classes of mathematics with the skill of an expert.[11] Possibly it was his early application to this science that gave him the strength of intellect which later enabled him to wrestle successfully with abstruse problems in the sciences of theology, philosophy and history.

Bishop David rejoiced to find that superior gifts of mind and soul were accompanied by an affectionate heart and sterling traits of character. Soon the young student possessed the love and esteem of Bishop Flaget also. Both prelates planned for his future. They determined to send him to Rome, the center of the Church's unity, where he could imbibe in all its fulness the riches and beauty of ecclesiastical science. There were some, however, among the clergy who objected, on the ground that such a course might beget habits of mind and action which would unfit him for work in the backwoods of Kentucky.

He himself was delighted at the prospect of going abroad. He had heard from the lips of one of his illustrious teachers what it meant to spend a few years in the Eternal City, and surely that same teacher, Father Kenrick, was a sufficient demonstration that a training in Rome was not incompatible with the requirements of a Kentucky missionary. The sequel proved that the Bishops were right and the objectors wrong in the case of the Reverend Martin J. Spalding who returned laurel-crowned to his native State. Whether he labored in the colleges or in the seminaries, in the parishes or on the missions, he left an impress which he could hardly have otherwise done.

Were it not for the superior advantages given him in early youth, the world would not have his valuable literary works. The first, which he published, a review of D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation,* placed him at once among the most popular Catholic writers of the day. Others followed in due time and after twenty years came his *History of the Reformation* which passed rapidly through five editions. His native State will ever be indebted to him for his *Sketches of Kentucky* and his *Life*

of Bishop Flaget. But for these works how meagre would be the knowledge of that period, and how dimly through the mists of a century could be seen those noble patriarchs of the West, the beloved David and Flaget, generous-hearted men, full of human sympathy and tender affection who, walking in the footsteps of the Divine Master, "were truly the models of the flock and the mirror of the clergy."

While head of the Church in Kentucky, Bishop Spalding conceived and carried out, notwithstanding opposition, the idea of establishing the American College of Louvain, destined to become the Alma Mater of so many learned and saintly pastors and missionaries who have extended the Kingdom of God in the United States.[12]

His career as Archbishop of Baltimore at a time (1864-1872) which demanded the highest administrative qualities, again proves the wonderful vision of the prelates who fitted him for a future of nation-wide usefulness. Well might he regard them as his second parents. Writing from Rome on completing his studies there, August 27, 1834, he said:

> I intend that this letter, miserable as it is, be for my dear Father David as well as for yourself. O how happy I shall be on seeing you both. I always loved you as parents and my esteem and affection have increased in proportion to the time of our separation. I hope that God will grant me the favor I have asked from Him with so much instance, i.e., of enabling me in my missionary life to be useful to His Church.[13]

Years afterwards when they were gathered to the bosom of their fathers, he standing where they had stood and clad like them in the sacred purple, urged onward his worthy priests by reminding them of the saintly David's teachings. "We should frequently recall to mind," he said, "the earnest admonitions of that man of God, the founder and first superior of our theological seminary, Bishop David, who strove in season and out of season to impress upon our minds and hearts the necessity of the priest being a man of prayer, wholly devoted to his duties, and constantly walking before God, meditating upon His law day and night, if he would be perfect, and receive from God the priceless gift of perseverance."[14]

CHAPTER XIII

Missionary Zeal (1826-1829)

Bishop David's zeal for religion made him alert in discovering any means for its promotion or for enhancing the splendor of the divine service. Time, labor, fatigue counted nothing to him when such an object was in contemplation.

He wrote Bishop Fenwick in 1826:

> We are now printing a new catechism for this diocese, as full and as complete as I could make it, containing the feasts of the year. I will send you by Mr. Hill what I can get from the press; if you choose to adopt it for your diocese, I will send you as many copies as you want for the present; and I will request you to send me your remarks on what you think to want correction that in the second edition it may be corrected. It has also come to my mind to have the sacred music we use in our cathedral printed. I think this can be done in Cincinnati. I remember seeing music printed there. I would collect our Masses, hymns, Vespers, etc., and send them there.[1]

The work of the colleges and the seminaries was at its height, the other institutions, likewise, were flourishing, and consequently in need of extra spiritual care and guidance; the Jubilee too was in progress, when to his surprise he found the Ordinary was planning an *ad limina* visit to Rome. In his humility Bishop David considered himself incapable of shouldering for an indefinite time the entire responsibility the more so as there were parts of the diocese which he had never seen. He wrote to His Holiness advancing reasons why in his opinion the visit should be postponed.

In the estimation of the Holy Father these reasons outweighed those of the Ordinary for going, and Bishop David had the satisfaction of hearing the gracious Prelate warn him good naturedly: "Make yourself easy; when I shall again purpose to visit Rome, I will say nothing of my intention either to yourself or to any one else."[2]

Shortly after this the hearts of both prelates were rejoiced at the prospect of having Bishop Rosati for their guest. They had learned to know and love this talented, noble son of Holy Church, when nine years before, on his arrival from Italy, he had sojourned with them at St. Thomas'. His superior gifts hav-

ing been meanwhile recognized by Rome, he was made coadjutor to Bishop Du Bourg.

When Bishop Du Bourg tendered his resignation of the See of New Orleans, November, 1826, the Holy See divided the diocese and imposed upon Bishop Rosati the temporary administration of both upper and lower Louisiana, suggesting that he take up his residence in New Orleans. Perplexed as to how he should proceed in regard to several points, he turned for advice to his friends, the Bardstown prelates, whose wisdom and good judgment together with their knowledge of conditions, made them safe counsellors. Accompanied by Father Dahmen, C.M., pastor of St. Genevieve, and Brother Blanka, C.M., both of whom had been with him at St. Thomas' nine years before, he set out.

Descending the Mississippi they entered Kentucky and proceeded to Union County where they visited St. Vincent's Academy, a branch house of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. Here they met old-time friends in the person of several of the Sisters and in that of Father Durbin, the pastor and chaplain. On leaving, Bishop Rosati promised the Sisters a precious gift, a painting of their beloved patron, St. Vincent de Paul, founder of the Priests of the Mission and of the Sisters of Charity.

When at length they reached their destination, what a transformation met their eyes! The handsome new Cathedral, the grand Seminary and College of St. Joseph, Nazareth transferred to a delightful location with its halls filled with seekers of learning from far and near, Loretto ever flourishing, and a new Sisterhood brought into existence through Dominican zeal. Surely the wilderness "had blossomed like a rose," had become a veritable garden of varied beauty.

A fortnight was spent in deliberations, in solving difficulties and in friendly, social intercourse. Satisfied that the object for which he came was accomplished, Bishop Rosati took an affectionate farewell of Bishop David at Nazareth. Then at Bethany when the adieus were spoken Bishop Flaget sank on his knees to beg a blessing. Bishop Rosati did likewise. A mutual blessing and a mutual farewell strengthened the friendship which multiplying affairs called into more frequent action and which proved a wealth of comfort and a tower of strength in approaching trials and uncertainties.[3]

Bishop David's reluctance to have Bishop Flaget cross the ocean and leave to him indefinitely the administration of the diocese has been seen, yet it was a joy to him to realize that an ecclesi-

astical function of note in any part of this country was considered lacking in splendor, were the Bishop of Bardstown not there to officiate. How readily did he not then prepare for the departure, how carefuly did he not take hold of home affairs! One such occasion was the consecration of Archbishop Whitfield of Baltimore. It occurred on Whitsunday, 1828, and Bishop Flaget was the consecrator. It would be difficult to say who appreciated this signal honor the more, the devoted coadjutor in the distant Kentucky town or the venerable consecrator in the metropolitan city. In the evening of that day the latter wrote in his journal: "This Sunday of Pentecost was the most grand, the most august, the most honorable day that has ever shone on the Bishop of Bardstown."

During the week which Bishop Flaget spent in Baltimore, he viewed with joy and gratitude the rapid progress which religion had made there. Among the institutions he visited was that of St. Joseph's, the Mother House of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, and he recorded that "in many respects, his own Sisterhood of Nazareth would not suffer by comparison with this renowned establishment."[4] On all sides numerous inquiries were made about Bishop David, and grateful tears testified how deep the affection and strong the ties which unite those whose love for one another originates in the Heart of God.

Meanwhile, in his visits to the various congregations of Kentucky, Bishop David did not confine himself to the performance of his episcopal duties, but entered on the work of an ordinary missionary. The *Catholic Miscellany* of 1828 shows him in Harrodsburg, the first settlement of the State, where evidently the growth of the Catholic population was by no means rapid:

> The Rt. Rev. John B. David, Bishop of Mauricastrum, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Bardstown, visited Harrodsburg congregation on Wednesday, the 20th of August, and addressed a numerous and respectable audience in the Court House on that evening. On the following evening two missionaries who, after visiting Franklin and Scott Counties, had arrived at Harrodsburg, delivered two discourses in the same place; and on Friday a conference was held between them. This small congregation consists of only four families and some other individuals. Baptism was administered by the Rt. Rev. Coadjutor to an adult lady, who with another convert received Confirmation. A marriage was also celebrated by him.
>
> On Friday evening the missionaries preached and held conferences in Danville in the same county (Mercer) as also on

Saturday morning; and in the evening the Rt. Rev. Coadjutor delivered an energetic discourse, which was followed by a moving address of the pastor who visits the congregation. On Sunday morning seven persons communicated, and six received Confirmation in the Church of St. Patrick, after a previous explanatory discourse from the Right Reverend Prelate. Mass was followed by a sermon delivered by one of the missioners; and in the evening at five o'clock, a discourse explaining the rites of Baptism was delivered by the Right Reverend Coadjutor, previously to the baptism of an infant. The whole was terminated by a discourse of a missionary in reply to questions proposed for solution in an anonymous letter.

Archbishop Whitfield, as a result of the long years of urging on the part of Bishop England of Charleston, South Carolina, established the holding of provincial councils at certain intervals. These councils were, in fact, national, as they were composed of all the bishops, who legislated for the entire country. The first was convened in 1829 and was looked forward to in hopeful anticipation by Bishop David. It had been planned that he should attend, but circumstances prevented his doing so. He wrote to the Archbishop:

Bardstown, September 5, 1829.

Most Reverend Father in God,

I had anticipated a very great pleasure in becoming acquainted with Your Grace in my intended journey to Baltimore. Your gracious invitation, and the express will of my venerable Bishop left me no alternative. He had overruled every objection I had made; and preparations were making for my journey, until the last Tuesday in August. Then so many and such pressing remonstrances were made to him about the consequences of our absence, joined with that of Reverend Mr. Kenrick who was to accompany us in the quality of the Bishop's Theologian, that he at length yielded to them, and desired me, though reluctantly, to remain. As I was going only through obedience, and felt as much as any one the great inconvenience of the absence of us three, I willingly consented to stay. It is a great privation to me to miss the only opportunity that perhaps will ever occur during the short remaining period of my life to revisit a place so dear to my heart and so many persons who are still the object of my regard. To see once more the good old Mr. Tessier, Messrs. Bruté, Jaubert, Hicke, Wheeler, and to make acquaintance with my other brethren of St. Sulpice, M. Daughoun, Deloul, etc., whom I have never seen, would have been indeed a high gratification.

But these younger ones, I hope, at least some of them, may, perhaps think it worth their while to pay a visit to our wilds of Kentucky and view the establishments which the hand of a kind Providence has raised amidst our forests. Yourself, Most Reverend Father, will you ever deem it worthy of your zeal to visit this part of your province and encourage us by your presence to put into execution the wise regulations that are going to be made in the first provincial or national Council of this flourishing country? Humbly requesting the assistance of your prayers and holy sacrifices.

I remain with most profound respect,

Most Reverend Father in God,

Your most obed[ient] humble servant,

John Baptist Mary, Bishop of Mauricastro.[5]

At this Council Bishop Flaget on being introduced to Bishop England, the learned Bishop of Charleston, said, "Permit me to kiss the hand that has *written* so many fine things." "Allow me," said Bishop England, "to kiss the hands that have *done* so much good."[6]

Among the provisions made by the Council for the interests of religion throughout the country was that a petition should be sent to the Holy See to appoint a coadjutor to the Bishop of Philadelphia. This seemed the only means of extricating the disturbed diocese from its constantly increasing perplexities.

When Father Kenrick was proposed as the most suitable person for the position, it cost Bishop Flaget a heroic sacrifice to allow his name to be sent to Rome. Rome acted promptly, for, on May 1, 1830, the Bulls for his consecration arrived. What a painful shock to Bishop David was the information that he must be deprived of one who had come to his succor when the burden was heaviest, and whose sympathy and generosity were exceeded only by his piety, knowledge and adaptability, to any and every office. Both bishops had begun to regard him as their probable successor.

Not only the bishops and clergy, but the people also, were grieved at the prospect of losing this devoted priest. It was the first time such a demand had been made of them. Soon, however, others from the ranks of their zealous priesthood were called to the purple, an evidence of how Providence had singularly blessed the diocese with spiritual leaders who excelled in gifts of mind and heart. The consecration of Doctor Kenrick was a most brilliant ceremony. The *United States Catholic Miscellany* had the following account of it:

RT. REV. JOHN BAPTIST MARY DAVID
Bishop of Mauricastro

On Sunday last, 6th inst., feast of the ever adorable Trinity, the ceremony of the Right Rev. Dr. Kenrick's consecration was performed in the Cathedral of Bardstown, Ky. The Right Rev. Dr. Flaget officiated as consecrating Bishop, attended by the Rev. E. Durbin and the Rev. W. Byrne as chaplains, and by the other clerical officers prescribed in the Roman Pontifical for such occasions. The Right Rev. Dr. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia, and the Right Rev. Dr. David, coadjutor of the Bishop of Bardstown, were the assistant prelates of the Bishop-elect. The former presented the very Reverend Dr. Kenrick to the consecrating Pontiff in the manner prescribed in the pontifical, and performed all the offices of the senior assisting Prelate. Dr. Conwell was waited upon by the Rev. J. Elliott, in quality of chaplain, and Dr. David by the Rev. Charles Cissel. The chaplains of the Bishop-elect were, Rev. G. A. M. Elder and Rev. Edward McMahon. The Right Rev. Doctors England, Bishop of Charleston, and Fenwick, Bishop of Cincinnati, were also present at the ceremony, attended by their chaplains, the former by the Rev. R. A. Abell, and the latter by the Rev. G. I. Chabrat. The Right Rev. Dr. Flaget, who, as consecrating Bishop, officiated pontifically, was dressed in all the insignia of his office, while the four assisting prelates appeared each with a cope and mitre. The Rev. J. A. Reynolds acted as notary to the Right Rev. Dr. Flaget, and directed the ceremonies, being assisted in the latter office by Mr. Clarke, Subdeacon, of Ky. Besides the Prelates named above there were present at the ceremony, forty-one Ecclesiastics, viz., twenty priests including Rev. F. Resé from Cincinnati, Rev. N. O'Connell, from Philadelphia, and Rev. Fathers Polin and Martin (O.P. in Kentucky), six deacons, five subdeacons, and ten clerics, in inferior orders. Forty of the Community of "the Sisters of Charity" and fifty young ladies from the Female Academy of Nazareth occupied seats immediately in front of the sanctuary. The choir above was filled by the students of St. Joseph's College, and other persons having special permission to take seats there. The body of the Church was closely crowded by a numerous congregation, consisting, it is supposed, of three thousand persons.

The grand altar, as also the small altar of the Bishop-elect, were very handsomely decorated. The countenance of the venerable and apostolic Bishop of Bardstown, wearing the expression of thoughtfulness, dignity and sanctity, the solemn and dignified appearance of the four assisting Prelates, the meek and humble countenance of the elect Bishop, dear to every eye that beheld him, and, with deep recollection of soul, invoking upon himself by silënt, fervent prayer, the Divine

> Spirit, whom he was to receive by that sacred imposition of the Pontiff's hands, the solemn recollection and piety, which appeared among the clergy that were present, rendered the sanctuary a spectacle truly grand and imposing. The whole ceremonial was indeed splendid, and seemed to chain the attention of all present, and excite in every bosom deep and awful emotions. Just before the recitation of the litany, the Right Rev. Dr. England of Charleston was conducted to the pulpit by his chaplain and another clergyman. A deeper silence immediately prevailed, and the Prelate commenced his truly eloquent and pathetic discourse. An attempt by me to give an abridgement of his sermon would be vain. I cannot follow the lofty and sublime flights of the illustrious Prelate of Charleston. His cogent reasoning, the unsought elegance and nervous precision of his language, the impressive tones of his strong and manly voice, the bold energy of his gesture, cannot be described. To judge of him, we must hear him. When he spoke of the existence of our Holy Church in every place and time, when he addressed the venerable Bishop of Bardstown, and the Bishop of Arath, every one felt what none can describe, the soul absorbing power of divine eloquence. The minds that strove to follow him in the lofty range of his thoughts, sunk at length beneath the pathos and sublimity of the man; and the tears of piety and admiration streamed from a thousand eyes.

At Nazareth there were many hearts heavy with sorrow at the loss of Dr. Kenrick. How his spiritual guidance would be missed! His peculiar encouragement in the pursuit of learning, ever stimulating, ever insistent! On the occasion of his last visit, the Bishops, the Community and the school assembled in the recreation hall where an interesting program was presented by the senior students. Appropriate songs and addresses portrayed simply and sincerely the feelings of all. At the close of the program, so deeply moved was Bishop Kenrick that three times he made an effort to speak but in vain. Bishop England spoke for him briefly and most effectively. During the discourse the tears of his listeners flowed freely, and the speaker himself betrayed no slight emotion.[7]

It was some compensation to his Kentucky friends to learn of the great success which attended Bishop Kenrick's labors in Philadelphia. He had a thorny road to travel but his meekness and patience, guided by prudence and attended by unwavering firmness, brought him through unharmed and left behind traces of his energetic zeal.

Notwithstanding the many claims on his time and attention, he did not neglect those with whom the first years of his sacerdotal life were spent, but occasionally penned them letters of counsel and encouragement.[8]

CHAPTER XIV

Expansion of the Nazareth Sisterhood (1832-1839)

Not many decades after its foundation, the town chosen for the first episcopal see of the West, had reached the zenith of its prosperity. The Bishops saw that a little settlement on the banks of the Ohio which had been so bravely struggling for an existence would eventually become a great metropolis and would be a more suitable place for the episcopal see.

In 1828, with a population of ten thousand, Louisville had received its first city charter, mayor and aldermen replacing the trustee government which had lasted half a century. Its site, as has been mentioned in a former chapter, was laid out in 1773 by Captain Bullitt employed by Doctor John Connolly, who claimed two thousand acres of "the bounty lands." By interchange and adjustment Connolly and Campbell became co-proprietors and divided the tract into town-plats. However, fear of Indian invasion prevented purchasers from investing. Meanwhile the Revolutionary War broke out. Connolly was arrested as a British sympathizer and the government of Virginia, of which Kentucky was then a part, confiscated his lands.

In 1778, Colonel George Rogers Clark was commissioned to levy troops west of the Alleghanies for the purpose of wresting the great Northwest Territory from the possession of the English who were constantly inciting the Indians against the settlers. In the boats which conveyed his soldiers down the Ohio, he reluctantly permitted twenty emigrant families to take passage. Reaching the falls, he landed on an island there as a suitable place for disciplining his raw recruits because the rapid waters would prove a barrier to deserters.

They fortified the island and built cabins for the emigrants and a block-house for the soldiers. The presence of the former proved a piece of good fortune, because they became a protection for the supplies in the absence of the soldiers. Colonel Clark was thereby enabled to lead his troops, when trained, against the enemy in the adjacent Illinois country. Victory followed victory. Soon Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes were in his possession,[1] and the emigrants could pass with comparative safety from Corn Island, their temporary abode, to the Kentucky shore and erect

homes on the confiscated territory granted to them by Virginia. They selected from among themselves trustees for the new town to which they gave the name of Louisville in honor of Louis XVI of France who was a sympathizer and friend of America in her struggles for freedom.[2]

The location invited to trade and commerce, in which the settlers immediately engaged, taking little part in the weighty matters which were under consideration before Statehood was won, such as, the free navigation of the Mississippi, the Spanish intrigues, the separation from Virginia, etc. These were handled by the men of the interior of the State, intellectual lights, not inferior to those east of the mountains at that time. Not until Judge Rowan entered Congress in 1825 did Louisville become influential in State and national politics.[3]

The interior had leadership in learning also. Lexington was the literary center, having the Transylvania University and several private educational institutions. Here was published in 1787 the *Gazette,* the first newspaper of the State.[4]

On receiving its charter, Louisville awoke to new life. Commercial facilities were secured by the construction of a canal south of the falls. This was completed in 1830. In the same year a gifted son of New England, already a man of letters, an editor, poet and historian, George D. Prentice, chose the infant metropolis for his home city. His name is identified with the *Courier Journal* whose influence in civic development cannot be questioned. It has always been a creditable exponent of the intellectual, cultural and political status of the people. In this year also the free school system, so unfavorably received in all parts of Kentucky, began to obtain some popularity in Louisville. The first free school was opened on August 17, 1829. It was situated on the corner of Fifth and Green Streets and had for one of its principals the historian, Mann Butler.[5]

Two years later, on November 21, 1831, the Sisters of Charity laid the foundation of their educational work in the metropolis. Mother Catherine Spalding with Sister Clare Gardiner, Sister Appolonia McGill and Sister Serena Carney established Presentation Academy. It was situated on Fifth Street next to St. Louis' Church, where, at the present time, stands the historic Cathedral of the Assumption. The reverend pastor of the church, Rev. Robert A. Abell, even then a recognized leader among his fellow citizens,[6] welcomed the little band which he foresaw would be a potent factor for the development of his people.

Not only Catholics, but non-Catholics, sought the instruction of the Sisters. Bishop David and Mother Catherine intended the school to be preparatory for Nazareth, but the curriculum embraced advanced branches of study for the benefit of all whose circumstances prevented their completing their education away from home.

Bishop David placed it under the care of the Blessed Virgin and since its foundation was made on the Feast of the Presentation, which was also the feast of the foundation of the Society itself, it was called Presentation Academy. Modest indeed was its beginning in a two story frame building rented for the purpose. The number of pupils rapidly increasing necessitated the purchasing of a large substantial residence where for many decades of years the Sisters taught the children of the representative families of Louisville.

As the city grew, the quiet, peaceful atmosphere, essential to student life, ceased to exist, and it became imperative to seek another site. One was found at the corner of Fourth and Breckenridge Streets. A building, with an exterior in keeping with this first-class residential section, and splendidly equipped with all that modern educational progress demands, was ready for occupancy in the fall of 1893. Here the appreciation and loyalty of the citizens for their first Catholic school are manifested each year when there arises an increased difficulty in solving the problem of providing for the many who apply for entrance.

Presentation Academy enjoys the distinction of having had Mother Catherine for its first superior, because her term as Mother Superior of the entire Sisterhood had expired the previous August. At Nazareth, Mother Angela Spinks was elected to the office of Mother Superior. Although she was in many respects a remarkably capable woman, and most successful in discharging duties of responsibility entrusted to her, she considered herself totally incompetent for this office. After urgent solicitations to be permitted to lay aside the burden, she succeeded in doing so on March 25, 1832.

Bishop David, in accordance with the Constitutions, selected Mother Frances Gardiner as her successor. Her gentle, loving nature made her acceptable to the Sisters, and her generous response to the divine will manifested through God's representatives, caused her to rule the Society through several alternating periods until the time of her death in 1878.

A school was opened at White River, Indiana, in the spring

of 1832 by a band of four Sisters, among whom were Sister Angela Spinks and Sister Ellen O'Connell. At this time we find Bishop David deploring the fact that the number of members to be trained as "school mistresses" was small in comparison with the demands of the rapidly forming parishes. He advised that those places where the religious facilities were inadequate to the Sisters' needs, or where other difficulties seemed insurmountable, be abandoned and the Sisters placed where their usefulness would bear greater fruit. The advice was duly followed, and the schools of Indiana, those of Fairfield and of some other parts of Kentucky, were closed.

As Bishop David was a life-long teacher, his knowledge of the human mind and the requirements for its proper development made him most careful in the selection of Sisters to be employed in the delicate work of training the young. He found many were better adapted for that great field of activity which St. Vincent de Paul wished to be the first object of the Sisters of Charity, and which was now opening to the Nazareth Sisterhood, a field which required high self-sacrifice in behalf of the corporal and spiritual needs of suffering humanity. While laboring to promote the interests of education, it was always Mother Catherine's noble ambition to find a means for harboring the homeless little ones, an ambition which her spiritual father, Bishop David, gladly fostered and pointed to as a worthy goal of her endeavors. Among the pupils of the Louisville school there were some much in need of food and raiment. These were promptly cared for, but to give shelter to those in need of it, did not seem possible, because of the limited quarters of the Sisters.

One evening late in the autumn of 1832, a messenger came to tell Mother Catherine that a family of non-Catholics, by the name of Jenkins, had lately arrived from Pennsylvania, and were in such a destitute condition that any assistance would be a great charity. She, taking a Sister companion, went to the place designated and there found lying lifeless on a cot, a mother with a babe of a few months, near her a daughter of sixteen sick of heart disease, and another of five or six years of age. The father was helpless. A son of eighteen had gone to Indiana to purchase a farm.

Mother Catherine's practical mind and ready hand found means for relieving the sad situation. She called on kind neighbors who promptly responded. The deceased was given suitable burial and she offered to take the sick girl and the two little ones home

with her, but the girl refused and nobly insisted that she would be able to keep the family together, and her brother, on returning, sustained her in her resolution. After two weeks, however, worn out and over-weary she lay down at the close of the day to rest, as her brother thought, but when morning came he found she had passed away.

The father and brother were now willing to let Mother Catherine take the two little girls to the Sisters' home. These formed the nucleus of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, an institution which has since sheltered thousands, saving many from ruin here and hereafter. Bishop Flaget's desire for such an institution in his diocese had been frustrated by the want of means. He thanked Providence for opening now this opportunity for its establishment, and blessed the woman of indomitable will whose zeal, energy, and ingenuity could effect it. Before the close of the year four more little girls were received. Nazareth sent Sisters to care for them and purchased a lot near St. Louis' Church on which an orphanage might be built.

The Catholic ladies of the city became interested, and held a meeting under the direction of Father Abell, to devise means for raising funds. A Fair was planned, and so much enthusiasm awakened that the sum of eleven hundred and fifty dollars was realized. When the new house was completed in the spring of 1833, Mother Catherine and four Sisters moved into it with twenty-five or thirty orphans.

From the beginning a well-regulated household was established with hours for every duty and work allotted according to the capacity of each member. It was financed by occasional small donations, by the sale of articles which the industry and skill of the Sisters and the children furnished, and by the generosity of the merchants and farmers who soon learned to appreciate the value of the great work. It was in this house the following year that the Reverend Martin J. Spalding having just returned from Rome, visited his cousin, Mother Catherine. Many years afterwards, one of the first two little orphans, grown into a woman of high intellectual culture and active charities, Mrs. M. E. Jenkins McGill, related her impressions of that visit:

> I shall never forget the rosy, beaming, almost boyish face, so full of intelligence, so perfectly spiritual in its whole impression, as it appeared in the poor school room of the orphans. A word of introduction from the beloved Mother, a tender blessing and in a moment the accomplished scholar and the elo-

MOTHER CATHERINE SPALDING
The First Superior of Nazareth

quent priest was sitting in the midst of thirty little girls, the oldest of whom was not twelve, relating his adventures in the old world, telling anecdotes of college life, giving graphic pictures of famous scenes and objects of interest in Europe. So entertaining was the narrator, so life-like, yet simple, his delineations that his hearers, as many an audience afterwards, under the charms of his eloquence, lost the sense of the passage of time.[7]

In 1836, the number of orphans had outgrown the capacity of the buildings and grounds. A newly-erected hotel on the corner of Wenzel and Jefferson Streets was offered for sale at a reasonable price, and Nazareth, aided by the proceeds from the sale of the lot on Fifth Street, purchased it. It was a large three story brick building with four and a half acres of ground attached.

Here forty or fifty orphans took up their abode. Ample playgrounds, a good garden, spacious sleeping and school apartments afforded singular advantages. That a permanent revenue might accrue to the orphanage, one wing of the building was fitted up as an Infirmary for pay patients. It was known as St. Vincent's Infirmary and from it evolved in due time the present St. Joseph's Infirmary, a landmark in the city's history.[8]

Mother Catherine presided over the Asylum and Infirmary, a joy to her numerous family of hearty, hopeful, frolicsome girls, and a comfort to the patients whose sufferings her very presence seemed to alleviate. It was with pangs of regret that she left them when the voice of her Community called her in 1838 to take again the general government.[9] The many demands of her high position did not lessen her love and solicitude for her dear orphans, as is seen from a letter to Sister Louise Dorsey, one of her successors:

Nazareth, August 31, 1839.

My Dear Sister,

I received your message by Sister Ambrosia and although I laughed and replied that you would have to do as I did and turn about and get funds, this you know was a mere joke. Rest assured you will always find in me a heart that will know how to sympathize with you in any difficulty, which comfort I never had in all that I had to encounter in establishing that house. But God be praised! I hope His holy will has been done and He will not abandon His own. If your heart beats friendly towards my dear orphans, be assured it is a new claim you have on me, an additional tie fully

as strong as the one that unites us in the sacred bonds of religion.

I enclose you here $10.00 which I have had the good luck to obtain the other day from a stranger to apply to the benefit of the orphans. I shall continue as I have done to procure for them all that I can.

I feel uncertain at this time when I shall be able to see you, but hope you will have no difficulty as the Sisters there are acquainted with the place.

Ah! my dear Sister, could you only read in my heart you would soon know with what delight I would now change situations with you, for in the whole universe there is not a spot to which my heart clings as to that.

If our good and venerable Bishop calls there as he passes through Louisville, be sure to tell him from me to give that place his *special Benediction.*

My kindest love to all the Sisters. God bless you all is my humble and sincere prayer.[10] CATHERINE.

At the expiration of her term (1844) Mother Catherine returned to her dear orphans to be again summoned in 1850 to the first place of trust at Nazareth. But death found her, eight years later, doing what her heart desired most, ministering to the orphans and to the poor of Louisville.[11]

This early disciple of Bishop David caught the fulness of his spirit in tender youth and, faithful to his teachings, she, like the valiant woman of the Scriptures, put "out her hand to strong things," "opened her hand to the needy and stretched out her hands to the poor." Through her, perhaps, more than through any of the many who came under his guidance has his spirit been perpetuated. Together they have an ever increasing number of children who rise up and call them blessed.[12]

CHAPTER XV

Severe Trials

An epidemic of cholera which ravished central Europe in the summer of 1831, appeared in this country in the early fall, penetrating even into the sparsely settled interior and claiming many a victim regardless of age or sex or station. The heroism of the priest of God manifests itself on such occasions. Often the ties of blood cannot induce men to risk their lives for the sake of relieving a sufferer, but the wonderful ties of religion never fail. Her ministers weary not day or night, through heat or cold of searching for the unfortunate, in order to comfort them in soul and mind and body, cheerfully performing, in some instances, the duties of doctor and nurse as well as of priest.

Notwithstanding his age and rank Bishop David was a typical priest through this dark period. He not only gave his personal service but he called on that great reserve force which he had formed, his Sisterhood. The response was as generous as it was unanimous. The boarders of the schools were sent to their homes, the day pupils dismissed and the school buildings transformed into hospitals, where some of the Sisters remained as nurses, while others sought the stricken in the vast rural districts.

Four Sisters, Martha Drury, Margaret Bamber, Martina Beavin and Hilaria Bamber were selected to join those in Louisville. Arriving there with Bishop Flaget who had hastened from a distant northern point of his diocese on learning of Louisville's affliction, they, together with Father Abell and the other Sisters, repaired to the Church of St. Louis. Here the Bishop read aloud an act of consecration and blessed his children; then all armed with the strength of Christ set out on their errand of mercy.[1]

Happily Louisville's sanitary condition was such as to prevent the disease from gaining much headway. Ten years before in an epidemic of yellow fever the mortality was so great as to give it the name of "Graveyard of the West." The severe lesson taught then caused the people to provide themselves with the proper means for preventing the recurrence of a like misfortune; and the success of their efforts was proved by this

visitation, winning for the city a reputation for healthfulness which subsequent trials have permanently established.[2]

The Sisters learned through Father Reynolds of the desperate condition of a non-Catholic family, Roberts by name, residing at a distance of about eight miles from Nazareth. Sister Martha Drury whose brief experience with the cholera in Louisville increased her efficiency, hastened with a companion to their relief. They entered first the kitchen, and what a spectacle met their gaze! In front of a brightly burning fire there lay in death the distorted form of a stalwart negro slave, and nearby was another in the throes of his last agony. Two more were coming in from the farm having been seized by the terrible disease. In the house, they found the little son of the family writhing in pain, notwithstanding the efforts of the grief-stricken parents to relieve him, and, at the same time, to calm the terrors of their daughter who had also been stricken. The Sisters took the family in hand and Father Reynolds obtained from the Loretto convent a wagon and a negro driver. With the assistance of a charitable man, one of the lately disbanded Brotherhood, the driver carried away the negroes who had died and buried them. He himself became an immediate victim. Of the two Loretto Sisters who had also come to the service of the stricken family, one, Sister Benedicta, made the supreme sacrifice.[3]

Sister Martha's companion was likewise attacked, but she was taken immediately to Nazareth where she eventually recovered. Sister Eulalia Flaget replaced her and with Sister Martha, accompanied the Roberts family to a neighboring farm house, where it was hoped a change would be beneficial. On the way the Sisters, perceiving that there was no chance of the children's reaching their destination alive, decided to baptize them. When the father was asked his consent, he said: "Sister, my life, like my children's, is in your hands. I can grant you nothing, because I can refuse you nothing; if I still have anything it is yours. My friends have forsaken me, and you who are strangers have come and stood by me in my distress at the peril of your life."

The children died and were laid in the same grave. Their pure souls on entering Paradise won no doubt for their parents the divine mercy as the chastening rod was stayed.[4] The Sisters who attended them proceeded to the family of Judge Rowan of Bardstown to nurse the suffering there.[5]

When at last the pestilence ceased, and the school at Nazareth reopened, it was like beginning again. Only thirty pupils were

left and the ranks of the faculty too were depleted. Mother Frances and several of the Sisters were almost incapacitated for life. Three had died to prove their charity for their fellow beings.

The first so privileged was Sister Patricia Bamber, the youngest of three Sisters who had consecrated their lives to God in the Nazareth Sisterhood. Bishop David, ever watchful father, was with his suffering children, ministering to the needs of soul and body. He wrote: "The cholera has not touched me, though I have been close to it, having remained by the bedside of my dear Sister Patricia the better part of the morning when she was in the height of that frightful disease, and I sometimes rubbed her hands when they were cramped, and no one was standing by to render her that assistance. She suffered a real Purgatory."[6]

The second was the music teacher, Sister Joanna Lewis. She was the daughter of a neighboring farmer, a convert of Bishop David. Gifted with more than ordinary talent for music, she had been appointed teacher on completing her novitiate. Her zeal, generosity and constancy of purpose, rejoiced the hearts of her superiors who hoped that a long life of usefulness would be her portion. To the saintly Mother Frances her loss seemed irreparable. Where could one be found to fill her place? Perhaps on entering her Home of Eternal Bliss, Sister Joanna pleaded for the beloved community which had opened for her the means of winning those priceless joys. If so, her petition was immediately granted, for there came a suitable candidate seeking admission into the Sisterhood. This was Sister Emily Elder, a sister of the Reverend George A. M. Elder, president of St. Joseph's College. She was an experienced teacher of music and a trained Religious, having been for ten years a member of the Dominican Order.

The third in the band of cholera nurses to win a glorious crown, was Sister Generose Buckman, another young, gifted and promising member. She and her sister, Sister Seraphine, had before entering the Community been the spiritual children of the Reverend Pius Miles, O.P., later Bishop of Nashville. He said of her that in all his experience there had never come under his direction one who possessed such beautiful candor and simplicity of soul.[7] In discharging her duties as teacher of art in the Academy[8] and as sacristan, she advanced rapidly on the road of sanctity and was found worthy to be numbered among Nazareth's early heroines.

Bishops and priests had labored most zealously through this

dark period, always alert to give life to a departing soul or additional strength to meet its God. The Right Reverend Edward Fenwick, Bishop of Cincinnati, while engaged in his apostolic journeyings, was snatched away. One of his priests, Father Henni, vainly strove to reach him in time; he who had so generously ministered to others was, in the dispensations of Providence, left to die without the Sacraments.

Another illustrious victim was the Reverend Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, Michigan, a close friend of Bishop David, and like him a Sulpician missionary. He, also, came from France in 1792, and, having been appointed to labor in Michigan, immortalized himself by his efforts in behalf of religion and education. The State is indebted to him not only for the establishment of a thorough system of elementary schools, but for his activities in behalf of higher education. He was a co-founder of the famous Ann Arbor University. The appreciation which the Michigan people have for him is to-day shown by statues in his honor, as it was in his own day by making him their representative in Congress. Father Byrne, founder of St. Mary's College, Marion County, was another martyr to duty in this period.

And now all stood in dread lest they should be robbed of their beloved Bishop Flaget. For three days he lay between life and death: but, thanks to the goodness of Almighty God, he was spared. When fully restored he wrote in a gay strain to his brother in France:

> For several weeks I seemed to laugh at the pestilence, being almost constantly in the midst of those who were infected with it, speaking to them, consoling them, rubbing their hands and feet when circumstances required this service. In brief I regarded myself as invulnerable. But my *lord cholera* whose march is guided by an omnipotent and invisible hand, laughed at my bravados; he struck to the right and to the left the victims which were marked out for him, waiting patiently for the day, when he could, all at his ease, lower my colors, and make me feel the entire weight of his formidable arm. He could not have chosen better the time for avenging himself of my boastings, and for making me know who he was and what he could do; for it was precisely when he appeared to have retired from the country, that he cast himself upon me, with uplifted arms, and struck me so heavy a blow, from the very beginning, that all my friends, and even the physicians, believed me to be in a struggle with inevitable death.

God be thanked; for several weeks the sight of many victims, who in seven or eight hours had been immolated by this terrible cholera, had suggested to me so many salutary thoughts on the vanity of the world, on the inutility of its goods, of its honors and pleasures, that, already thoroughly converted on all these points, I had but to re-pass the history of my youth in the bitterness of my soul, and the numberless mistakes of a spiritual administration, which has lasted for nearly fifty years.

This retrospect was, without doubt, calculated to cast alarm into all the faculties of my soul, and to make me adopt the most expeditious and efficacious means to purify, the best I could, my poor heart, more weighed down by the burden of its iniquities, than by that of its seventy years completed. I had then recourse, on the spot to my old coadjutor [Bp. David] who has been my intimate friend for forty-five years, and my confessor for nearly thirty. With a soul filled with grief and a charity more than human, he heard me, he enlightened me, he consoled me, and, above all, he dispensed me from a thousand details, which would have been necessary for any other confessor less acquainted than himself with my conscience. Having then laid before me the most touching and the strongest motives to excite a lively and sincere sorrow for my sins, and an entire resignation to the sacrifice which God seemed to demand of me, he made me hear those words, so sweet and so consoling to a poor sinner, struggling with death: *Ego te absolvo,* etc.

From that moment I enjoyed a peace, which the world could not impart, and which the *lord cholera himself* could not trouble. I left to my confessor the charge of administering to me the last Sacraments at the moment he might judge the most suitable. But a favorable crisis having occurred, at the end of three days I was no longer in a condition to require their reception.[9]

With the tender heart of a loving father had Bishop David followed his children in their self-surrender through this season of gloom, sustaining them by his prayers and words of encouragement, but especially by his example in encountering difficulties. He was now on the threshold of a period of mental and physical suffering such as often marks the course of great servants of God. He had reached his seventy-second year. Looking backward over the long road, no spectres stood as sentinels to warn him of repentance needed for time idled, opportunities wasted, or graces squandered. Looking forward, who could blame him if thoughts of peaceful leisure, the natural reward of faithful serv-

ice, should arise? Were not those to whom he had given his time and talents, the strength and vigor of his manhood preparing comforts for his declining years? The wisdom of Divine Providence had not so decreed.

In December, 1832, he received from Rome his appointment as Bishop of Bardstown with a coadjutor in the person of Father Chabrat, the reason given being the age and infirmity of Bishop Flaget. Who can picture his bewilderment? His mingled feelings of grief and astonishment? The highest power on earth had spoken, Rome whose every wish throughout life he had scrupulously heeded Obedient child of Mother Church, he had but to submit. Yet, emotions, incapable of control, welled up; nor did he try to disguise them. Priests and people were in deepest sympathy, and cried out against the placing of such a burden on his aged shoulders. What could it all mean?—Why the change? Conjectures, of course, were not wanting, and with many, conjectures were accepted as facts.

Spalding describes Bishop Flaget as possessing a delicate, sensitive temperament that caused him to suffer at times from deep depression, during which instead of viewing the great good which God had effected through him, a good manifest to the most casual observer, he saw only the shortcomings of his administration and attributed them to his inability, his sinfulness, his negligence.

An interior trial of this nature came to him shortly after Bishop Kenrick had left for Philadelphia and the visiting prelates had withdrawn. He counted twenty years too long to be burdened with the tremendous responsibilities of such a bishopric as his. Surely it is time to be relieved. Then, too, he perhaps considered that Bishop David without whose assistance he would have failed long before, had been laboring on in comparative obscurity. Was this just?—he argued. Moreover, should there not be younger blood in the administration? Having seriously weighed the matter and not having directly consulted any human being, but pouring out his heart, as he never failed to do, to the Divine Master, he wrote to Rome making his representations, and suggesting the changes. He had done the same the previous year, then naming Father Kenrick as a suitable aid.

Meanwhile he continued to discharge his duties, making distant journeyings and rejoicing at propitious events such as tidings of conversions among the Indians of the Northwest where one of his missionaries was engaged.

Happily Bishop David was able on receiving the decree from Rome to locate Bishop Flaget, who, together with Bishop Rosati, was at St. Genevieve, Missouri. He communicated to him the distress in which all Kentucky was plunged by the decrees from Rome. Seeing no alternative but obedience, Bishop David invited Bishop Rosati to come and consecrate Father Chabrat as coadjutor. Both bishops set out at once, from St. Genevieve, and on reaching Kentucky found the account of conditions had not been exaggerated.

There were many consultations and deliberations at this stage. People competent and incompetent discussed the matter, and what-had-been and what-ought-to-be passed from lip to lip undergoing changes on the way. "I am perfectly persuaded even now," wrote Bishop Flaget later, "that all these promotions and resignations are excellent in the eyes of God. But in the eyes of my dear Kentucky priests and laymen, in the eyes of the religious men and women of the diocese, all these changes are a scandal; they are the abomination of desolation, etc. Thus, my dear brother, with the best intentions in the world I have been the means of displeasing every one, not excepting Monsignor David and Chabrat.[11]

And Bishop David after the storm had subsided and the sky seemed clear again, thus tells the whole occurrence to one of his spiritual children of the Visitation Convent, Georgetown, D. C.:

Nazareth, January 16th, 1833.

I received your dear favor by Rev. Mr. Evremond, my dear [Sister] Mary Magdalen, and to my sorrow I have mislaid it where I cannot find it. You will not be surprised at this any more than at my long delay in answering you when you know what (a) frightful storm has passed over my head since that time. I say *passed;* for thanks be to God it is passed and I hope never to return any more. My good Bishop Flaget had taken into his head to resign his bishopric, which by right then devolved on me, contented to designate for me a coadjutor, which he thought a sufficient help for my old age and numerous infirmities. His abdication was accepted at Rome; and every dispatch sent to me from that centre of ecclesiastical authority to constitute me Bishop of Bardstown, indults, faculties, Bulls for my coadjutor, and nothing was wanting to make the burden completely overwhelming. To express to you what I felt, would be in vain. I shed more tears during three days than I have since I came to Kentucky. It was a profund affliction, mixed with astonishment at the step of that good Bishop in whom his humility and the desire for a retired life had

caused to forget all the sentiments of friendship and gratitude for one who had faithfully served him during twenty-two years. He was all the while absent on a visitation of a part of his diocese showing his *infirmity* by a journey of several hundred miles on horseback. The Bishop of St. Louis met him at Vincennes and persuaded him to accompany him to his own city and to St. Genevieve, etc. This was a trait of a merciful Providence in my behalf. My letter of sorrow, lamentation and complaint at what he had done reached him at St. Genevieve and was read him by my true and generous friend Bishop Rosati. I desired Bishop Flaget to bring him along with him to Bardstown, to consecrate, as I thought then, my coadjutor. But Providence had other views, and Bishop Rosati did not much contemplate that consecration. He had already expressed his surprise to Bishop Flaget and began to press him to retrace his steps. This we then happily effected at Nazareth. We all three Bishops offered Mass on St. John's day, to obtain light of God by the intercession of that beloved disciple of our Lord. After it we met together in private and found our good prelate willing to resume his charge provided a coadjutor would be given him without delay, which will be effected. Then we all wrote to Rome. I to implore the mercy of the Holy Father and his retraction of what he had done and to entreat also the Cardinal Prefect to support my petition. Bishop Rosati to the said Cardinal to expose in a very energetic and eloquent letter the cogent reasons for restoring things as they were, and Bishop Flaget to express his assent to the measure. Our letters are gone to the See of Peter and I hope I will obtain the favor of living in solitude, peace and retirement in my cottage of Nazareth without any other title than that of Superior of Nazareth, at liberty now to make a more immediate preparation for the great journey of eternity, only I am obliged to retain till letters come from Rome, the title of Bishop of Bardstown, which is no great burden, for I have already bestowed on my dear Bishop the whole administrative powers, which he has immediately begun to exercise. Join me in giving thanks to God, for this event, my dear Magdalen, and beg your dear Mother and fervent sisters to do the same, and while they admire with me the profound humility and eminent sanctity of Bishop Flaget which appears as much in his re-assumption as in his abdication, let them pray for us both that we may continue to serve the Church of God each according to his station.

Jan. 21

I have found again your kind favor (by) Reverend F. Evremond and read it over with new pleasure.

Reverend Mr. Evremond faithfully remitted to me the pre-

cious relic you sent me, for which receive the expression of my gratitude not only for this, but for the constant testimonies of your unabated friendship for me who have had the good fortune of being once instrumental in doing some good to your precious soul.

"I wish to write a great deal more, but a pressure of unanswered letters obliges me to conclude by assuring you of the sincere and lasting affection with which I remain

Your ever devoted Father,

✠John B. M. Bp. of Bardstown.

My kind and respectful compliments to your worthy Mother and to all your fervent Community whose prayers I earnestly solicit.[12]

To one of his Daughters of Nazareth, stationed at St. Vincent Academy, Union County, he comforted himself by the following narration:

Yes, my beloved Daughter, it is too true; your poor old Father is become the Bishop of Bardstown by the resignation of Bishop Flaget accepted at Rome. But thanks be to God and to the zealous friendship of Bishop Rosati, Bishop Flaget has been made sensible of his mistake in putting such an enormous burden on the shoulders of a broken old man and has been persuaded to resume it, and place it back on his own, provided the Holy Father gives his consent. We have no doubt but that he will do so. I shall remain with the title and dignity of Bishop of Kentucky, until letters come from Rome which will be in four or five months. Join with me, my dear Daughter, in thanking God for this happy turn of affairs, for by this event I am delivered from the burden of Coadjutorship also; Bishop Flaget will choose another for himself. He had chosen Reverend Mr. Chabrat for me. I will remain, I suppose Bishop of Mauricastro with no other title than that of Superior of Nazareth. This is too dear to my heart to lay it aside. I will remain to my Daughters and remain among them, and take care of them and be taken care of by them as long as I live. Tell all this to Reverend Mr. Durbin. I had given mission to Reverend Edward Clark to go to his assistance, but the death of Reverend Charles Cecil obliged me to send him to Bethlehem. I am glad to hear that Reverend Mr. Durbin is in better health, for the description he gave of his health greatly alarmed me. Give him my love and assure him that though I shall be no longer Bishop of Kentucky nor Coadjutor; yet I will always consider him as my own son and love him, and procure him the assistance I can; tell him he must pray for me. . . .

Adieu, my dear Daughter, pray for your poor old, but ever affectionate, Father,

✠John B. M. Bishop of Bardstown.[13]

His students in Rome, too, were excited over the tidings which reached them concerning the strange perplexities, and the saintly prelate deigned to give them also the facts in the case:

I feel grateful, my dear Martin, for the interest you and your companions have taken in my affliction. It has been great, indeed, and for some days it took from me the power of doing scarce anything else than weeping. My first thought was to have recourse to the paternal heart of our Holy Father; I was encouraged to do so by my faithful friends. I wrote to him with all the effusion of an afflicted son who pours his sorrows into the heart of a tender father, and seeks relief in his mercy. I was not disappointed. The simple writing of that letter alleviated my grief and produced tranquillity. The great burden that terrified me, that crushed me, the charge of so extensive a diocese was taken away from me. The six or eight months it bore on my poor, weak, sickly head were the most tedious of my life. However, I do not speak properly when I say *taken away.* Alas! it is only suspended and leaves a dread of returning again. Providence has permitted that some officious persons, disaffected towards Reverend Mr. Chabrat wrote to some of our prelates that his nomination was displeasing both to the clergy and the people; which induced him to write to Rome in the same sense. This was a very great mistake of these informers: to say nothing more. It is very far from being the case. Bishop Flaget and myself have no other interest in this than the good of our diocese. We have long known Reverend Mr. Chabrat. We know no other not only in Kentucky, but in the United States better acquainted with our diocese and more capable to govern it than this worthy priest. All this opposition has been a source of bitterness to our holy prelate; the delays it has occasioned, keep him in a continual anxiety not to be relieved until he receives news of his coadjutor's nomination."[14]

Later he wrote to the same:

"I and Bishop Flaget are in anxious expectation of the answer of the Cardinal Prefect concerning the acceptation of my abdication of the coadjutorship of Bardstown and the renovation of the Bulls of the Reverend Mr. Chabrat for the said coadjutorship; I wish His Holiness, or at least His Eminence, the Cardinal Prefect, would write at the same time a consolatory letter to our venerable and truly holy prelate. Tenderly embrace your dear companion Lancaster and your brother

Benedict in my name with as ample Episcopal blessing as I can bestow on them."[15]

The human side of Bishop David's character is strongly evidenced by his seeking the sympathy of his friends, whose affection and loyalty were beyond questioning, and like his Divine Master he would have them watch with him. Like that same Divine Master he was ready to drink the chalice to the end should the final decision coincide with the first.

CHAPTER XVI

Episcopal Jurisdiction (1834)

The step taken by Bishop Flaget in suggesting to Rome a change of diocesan administration, caused for several years reiterated jarrings in the wheels of government Few could grasp the situation, or divine the causes that led to it. Interpretations most humiliating to the principal actors were not uncommon, so that Bishop Flaget wrote: "My poor dignity has been knocked down, rumpled, trodden under foot, and I have been so disconcerted that I am very far from having recovered. . . . For three weeks he [Bishop Rosati] went around to all the establishments in Nelson and Washington [Counties], he conversed with the most prominent of my priests and the most intelligent of the laity before we wrote to Rome."[1]

The educational institutions especially experienced a weakening of authority, a departure from the beautiful harmony that prevailed when the sure hand of the pilot was seen steering onward, and there naturally followed a decline of prosperity. Bishop David thus commented upon it in regard to St. Joseph's:

> Some describe the diminution [of students] to other colleges being established in the West, that of the Barrens, that of St. Louis and that of Mobile which are of a more easy access, whereas the bad roads from Louisville to Bardstown, discourage parents from sending their children other persons assign their causes, as for me, I ascribe it to the absence of the blessing of God caused by a disrespect too often shown the Venerable Bishop whose heart has been so often afflicted by the opposition of ungrateful children, by their reproaches for not following their own wise conceits, etc. He ascribes his attack of cholera to an attack of this kind which was made on his sensibility which you know is [keen] where the glory of God and the good of religion are concerned. The opposition made to the Reverend Mr. Chabrat, for his coadjutor, which he had made a condition for resuming his title, his anxiety to receive an answer to his letters and mine to the Propaganda to which Bishop Rosati who is so full of esteem for Reverend Mr. Chabrat, had joined his, all this has preyed and indeed continues to prey on his mind in a manner which makes us fear for his life. Were he to obtain his demand which appears so reasonable to Bishop Rosati and to most of our dear prel-

ates with whom he conferred on this subject, his mind would be consoled, he would resume his spirits, and considering the strength of his constitution, he would be for many years very useful to the Church, and he would prepare a worthy successor to himself in Reverend Mr. Chabrat. In fact, this zealous priest, is of all those of the diocese and perhaps of the whole Union the most capable for the post. It would be difficult to find one so well acquainted with every part of the diocese and so capable by his ability and firmness to remedy the many evils, which still exist in it. They have endeavored to cast a doubt on the competency of his ecclesiastical learning. This is a great mistake. There are few bishops in the United States who are better informed than he is. As to his manners, which are not the most refined, there has also been an exaggeration. Bishop Purcell, who had formed his anticipations on what he had heard, was quite agreeably surprised when he saw Reverend Mr. Chabrat at Cincinnati to find him quite another man than had been described to him. He expressed that surprise both to Bishop Flaget who had brought him with him to meet me on my return, and to Bishop Rosati whom he saw a few days after. The suggestion that his appointment was disagreeable to the generality of the clergy and the people was also a great mistake. What motive suggested it, I leave it to God to judge. I hope there was no evil view, but there was certainly some prejudice. I hope the Holy Father who appeared to have such great esteem for our Venerable Bishop will not refuse him the favors which he asks and which the learned and holy Bishop Rosati has also asked conjointly with him.[2]

The number of boarders at St. Joseph's College was reduced from one hundred and ten to sixty. There was a constantly increasing need of priests for the missions and many preferred the duties of the holy ministry to those of college professors. The aged bishops looked anxiously for the return of their young clergymen, who were students in Rome, hoping that they would place the college and seminary again on a solid footing. The Reverend Martin J. Spalding had in a letter described how the College of the Propaganda in Rome was conducted. Full of admiration and enthusiasm, Bishop Flaget wished to have the same plan carried out in Bardstown and thus establish a "Little Propaganda of the West" where priests could be trained not only for his own, but for many other dioceses. Several allusions to the "Little Propaganda" are found in their correspondence. Meanwhile Providence placed within his reach first-class educators from the priesthood of Europe. He thus told of the prospect:

In the midst of this violent agitation, God has not left me without consolation. There have come to me four Jesuit Fathers, one of whom is Irish.[3] Every one tells me they will be an honor to religion by their learning and piety. Moreover, Monsignor England has secured from their Lordships of Ireland a promise of subjects well qualified for our needs. I have accordingly requested that they send me within a year or eighteen months, a good mathematician, a man of letters and a preacher. If these three come, I see that I can with those I already have, bring the College [St. Joseph's] up to a standard which will preserve, or perhaps increase the public favor which it already enjoys.

On the other hand, I have here a saddening outlook. M. McMahon has absolutely determined to join you in April next. If the [Reverend] M. Mulholland had not disappointed me, but returned to Kentucky, I would have sent him to Scott County and could have missioned M. McMahon to Nashville. Oh! for the love of our holy religion turn him from his project, for you already know that your good child, Charles Cissel, is dead, that Linus Coomes is out of service, so much is he run down, that the health of the [Reverend] M. Durbin is very much broken, and that the [Reverend] M. Reynolds is in Louisville for the past fifteen days in the hands of physicians for a malady of the nerves or stomach.

Do you not, therefore, agree with me that it requires much courage to take up again the burden of this diocese? By the friendship you have always had for me, do not forget me in your prayers and holy sacrifices and be fully assured you will always find in me a most affectionate and trustworthy friend.[4]

The following to the trustees of St. Joseph's College shows that here too things had to be adjusted, that the reins had been slipping from the hands of the ruler:

To the Trustees of St. Joseph's College

Dearly Beloved Children:

The Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David, Bishop of Bardstown, having read with attention the proposal for a new arrangement made by the Board of Trustees of St. Joseph's College, and foreseeing it would be attended with many difficulties on both sides, and that it would have a greater tendency to alienate the hearts of his clergymen than to unite them together with many other painful consequences, etc., has taken a determination, if it be his lot to continue in office to resume at the expiration of the present engagement, the full power of Moderator, and the entire and free exercise of his episcopal

functions which he conceives would be enthralled in many ways by a compliance with the proposals now presented. Being by law the moderator of the Board, and wishing as far as may be consistent with his duties to conform to the articles of agreement entered into by his predecessor, the Right Reverend Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop, and the Trustees of the College, he confirms the elections of the said trustees, and meanwhile informs them that no other Trustees are to be appointed without his choice and approbation. Your Venerable Father believes that the Trustees themselves remembering the numberless difficulties they labored under, in the discharge of that trust, the many struggles they had to sustain in every direction, and almost with every individual at the establishment, will rejoice when they are exonerated from so heavy and troublesome a burden, and when they have only to act as generous and dutiful children under the direction of a prudent and beloved father. Such are the resolutions which the Right Reverend Bishop of Bardstown has desired me to present to you in his name.

As to me, My Dear Children, if ever the Sovereign Pontiff appoints me a second time Bishop of Bardstown, a dignity I never desired in my life and which at my advanced years alarms and terrifies me, I seize this opportunity to inform you that I adhere in every point to the resolutions of your worthy Bishop and my venerable friend, being fully convinced by my own experience that your situation and mine were not natural: That continual and contrary efforts were made by both parties to stand firm on their respective grounds, in order to prevent encroachments and that all of us were most of our time uneasy and perhaps very unhappy.

It is then a duty to put an end to it by resuming our natural position, and uniting our efforts for the general good of the diocese which cannot be procured but by the strong ties of friendship and charity. That such should be your dispositions, I infer from a letter written to me by one of the Trustees in the name of the whole board. He calls God as a witness he has nothing else in view but the honor and the progress of our holy religion. You know very well that I am animated with the same sentiments. Therefore, if it be the will of God I should be once more your Bishop, let us revive the apostolic times, possessing everything in common, rewarding every member of the family according to his services and merits, forming young men to minister in the sanctuary, establishing, if possible, country schools: in a word having nothing else in contemplation but the glory of God, the salvation of souls and our own perfection

I put an end to these reflections by returning you my best thanks for your steady and generous efforts in liquidating the debts of the College, and, if at the end of your present engagement, you verify your promises and justify my expectations, you will stop all tongues and open every heart in your favor. At least depend on all the love and all the warm gratitude of your

Most affectionate and grateful Father in God,
✠Benedict Joseph, Bishp.[5]

Among the multitude of perplexities which arose at the time was one which caused singular pain to Bishop David. It was proposed to confine the seminary to St. Thomas' only. Since 1818 the theologians had been transferred to St. Joseph's where they might be under his immediate supervision, might be of assistance in the college and contribute greatly to enhance the splendor of the divine service in the choir and the sanctuary. The idea of withdrawing could hardly be prompted by zeal for the glory of God, especially at a time, he says, when the efforts of Bishop Flaget "had adorned and finished the inside of the cathedral, so as to make all the connoisseurs give it the preference before the massive cathedral of Baltimore. All these fine paintings sent by Leo XII and by the King of Naples[6] were displayed and were exciting not only admiration, but sentiments of piety and religion."

Bishop David's zeal for the continuance of the seminary in Bardstown kept him on active duty, even at the advanced age of seventy-two. To the Reverend John Timon, C.M., President of St. Mary's Seminary at the Barrens, Missouri, and later Bishop of Buffalo, he writes:

We labor here under great difficulties, we have eleven seminarians [theologians] counting the two that are come from you. They are under the conduct of a young priest whom I ordained last September. His extreme diffidence has obliged me to assume the title of Superior of the Seminary for which he had too great a reluctance and to give him only the title of Director of the same. But that this might not appear an empty title in me, I have commenced to perform some of the functions thereof, as to sustain the rule, etc. However, the weakness of my lungs will not permit me to do it constantly.[7]

On sending to Rome his resignation as Bishop of Bardstown and also as Coadjutor, Bishop David retained one title which he claimed was too dear to his heart to give up, namely, that of Superior of Nazareth. He would live among his daughters, take

care of them and be taken care of by them and "finish his course in their peaceful retreats." Thus he wrote to His Holiness, Pope Gregory XVI, and to Cardinal di Pietro. But there came an unlooked-for alteration of his plan, an interference of Providence, perhaps, to make this chosen soul resemble more closely Him who claimed not to have in the great world which was His own "a place whereon to lay His head." The cause of that change of plan is shrouded in mystery. A strange misunderstanding arose, whether it came from an outside source, from intrigue, from overt or open act has never been known, but it went down through the years, fraught with pain for both sides.

At Nazareth a new presbytery had been erected, a large one for those days, "the Bishop's House," the Sisters called it. "Our dear father is coming to live with us, to be all our own," they remarked with filial affection. Why he never occupied it was never satisfactorily explained. A letter of his in the archives of Loretto has thrown some light on the unfortunate occurrence. It is an answer to one from Mother Josephine asking him to come to Loretto and give the Sisters the privilege of daily Mass and other spiritual help. In this letter he assured her that only a few, *very* few of his daughters were at fault, adding that "in them it is a blind subserviency to the (ecclesiastical) superior who now governs them and who seems always to have considered the affection of my daughters for their old father as a diminution of that which he himself wishes to possess. I hope his intention is good. I spent three days last week at Nazareth. The generosity of the Sisters seemed to be the same respectful and affectionate children as before.[8]

The Reverend Ignatius A. Reynolds, pastor of the Cathedral and professor in St. Joseph's College, had been appointed confessor at Nazareth. He was talented, energetic, progressive and, perhaps, rendered many a valuable service to the Sisters during the period of distress through which the Diocese of Bardstown was passing. Bishop David, on coming to reside there, feeling that the hearts of some of his daughters were estranged from him, immediately decided to return to Bardstown and abide again in the Seminary, until the "white house," recently purchased from G. Duval would be fitted up as the Bishop's Mansion. His last signature to the minutes of the Nazareth Council was made February 19, 1833.

The following September, Father Reynolds was formally introduced by Bishop Flaget to the Sisters in the community room.

Bishop David says, writing of this change: "Circumstances, which I will not detail, have obliged me for the sake of peace and for my own rest to resign the superiorship of the Community. Both myself and Reverend Mr. Chabrat have advised the Right Reverend Bishop to appoint in my place Reverend Mr. Reynolds who is now the superior. My absence of two months made the measure eligible."[9]

That the trial was a severe one to the saintly Bishop there can be no doubt. It may be asked, was he over-sensitive? Was the cause real or imaginary? The answer is left to conjecture. His anticipations had been so ardent and their fulfilment so assured, that a sudden change must have added keenly to the pain occasioned by the harrowing events which were hardly yet over. Notwithstanding his sufferings, his affection for the Community and his interest in its welfare continued unaltered. To Sister Elizabeth he wrote:

> I have been invited to take up my residence for life at Loretto. I came last week to spend here two or three weeks: my residence will continue to be the Seminary until the White House is ready to receive us. There I will reside in solitude and repose with Bishop Flaget, keeping still my room at the Cathedral. The Sisters of Nazareth will not cease to be dear to me as daughters to a loving father, and I hope they will reciprocate the same sentiments towards me. God in whom alone I have tenderly loved them, is unchangeable, and as long as we make Him the center of our affections, they are as unchangeable as He is. I will carry them [the Sisters] all in my heart and recommend them every day to the protection and paternal care of our heavenly Father. . . . I will not leave here until the 21st of this month. The good Sisters of Loretto take very great care of me and show me both respect and affection. I have no other object in view than to prepare for Eternity. It is a consolation for me to think that many of my faithful Daughters are infirm and cannot remain long behind me and that we shall soon be reunited in the Kingdom of our Jesus. [Sisters] Agatha, Mildred, Alexia, Teresa, and you, my dear Elizabeth, are in that cherished number. Oh! let us disengage ourselves from all exterior objects! Let us not suffer the least earthly attachment in our hearts. Our Heavenly Spouse is the sole object worthy of all our affections. Let us stick to Him, never, if possible, lose sight of Him, seek nothing but His will and glory, purify ourselves more and more every day, unite ourselves to Him especially in the Holy Eucharist, carefully shun the least stain of sin, nay the least voluntary imperfection, so that we may be entitled to say: "I live, now,

MOTHERHOUSE OF THE NAZARETH SISTERHOOD
Of Which Bishop David Was the Founder

not I, but Jesus Christ lives in me." Meet me every day in His Sacred Heart in the time of Mass which I generally say about six o'clock. Be sure that you and all my beloved Daughters are faithfully remembered there every day.[10]

After two years the Reverend Joseph Haseltine replaced Father Reynolds as ecclesiastical superior of the Nazareth Sisterhood. He was born in Concord, New Hampshire, of parents who belonged to the strictest Puritan sect. Having gone at the age of twenty-five to Montreal, he came in contact with Catholics who impressed him so favorably that he examined the teachings of the Church and entered its communion, receiving baptism Christmas day, 1818. As he desired to consecrate his life to the service of God, he was directed by the Sulpicians to the Bishops in Bardstown, Kentucky.

For sixteen years he served St. Joseph's College in the capacity of agent and general disciplinarian. After this long probation he was in 1835 ordained priest by Bishop David, and appointed at once to the office of ecclesiastical superior of the Nazareth Sisterhood.

A typical priest in all respects, he was scrupulously exact in the performance of every duty. A model of punctuality, gentleness and piety, he was besides a skilful administrator of temporal affairs. There was system in all that he did, and his interest in the details of the Society can be seen by the fact that he tabulated the names of all the Sisters, the dates of their entrance and of their investiture and profession.

He registered the students, also, on their entrance and later recorded anything of importance which he learned of their after careers. He was regarded by them with the deepest reverence and affection. Mrs. Edward Miles (Anna Bradford) one of the three nieces of Jefferson Davis who attended school at Nazareth, in her memories of school days says of him:

> Father Haseltine was the first Catholic priest we had ever met. We were charmed with his elegant appearance and courtly manner; and we could but admire the grace with which he wore his handsome, well-made cassock, with its long train and heavy sash; he won the respect and esteem of those who knew him. He was much pleased with our Christian names, and he would often stop to speak a kind word as we three sisters were sitting together in the shade of the grand old trees; he would slowly pronounce our names—Mary, Anna, Elizabeth.—We did not know then why he so often called our names on meeting

us; but in after years when we became Catholics we knew the nature of his thoughts.[11]

It was his custom to rise every morning at four o'clock and spend the time in prayer and meditation until he offered the Community Mass at six. On February 13, 1862, he was found at his early rising hour kneeling in his bed room with his right hand reaching toward his forehead, as if in the act of making the Sign of the Cross. His beautiful soul had passed into the Hands of its Maker. In the hearts of the Sisters he has ever been held second only to their beloved founder, Bishop David, whose disciple he was and whose life of devotion and sacrifice had for years been his great inspiration.

Previous to the appointment of Father Haseltine the Reverend H. de Luynes, a deeply spiritual man, who later entered the Jesuit novitiate of St. Mary's, Kentucky, was made confessor and chaplain at Nazareth. Bishop David came frequently remaining a week or more each time, always happy to be among his "dear daughters." Several of them sought and obtained the privilege of continuing under his spiritual direction. On these he lavished the richness of his counsels, leading them toward those spiritual heights which he had reached and toward which he had conducted thousands of other fortunate souls.

CHAPTER XVII

The Second Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1833

"You are again my superior, and you have only to intimate your wish, and I shall obey," said Bishop David one bright morning in September, 1833, when the Ordinary, all worn and weakened by the late ordeal of mental and physical ills, asked him to represent the Diocese of Bardstown at the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore. With the alacrity and buoyancy which come even to the aged when relieved of some weighty responsibility, he began preparations for the distant journey. At once he placed it under the protection of the Mother of God, requesting his "fervent Nazareth daughters" to make a novena for him during the octave of her Nativity.

On September 17, the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, he set out from Bardstown, and on reaching Louisville embarked on a steamer bound for Cincinnati. It was his first experience in this mode of travelling as the era of steam navigation had hardly begun, when twenty-two years before he came down the Ohio, and not until December of that year (1811) did a steamer ply the waters of the Mississippi Valley. Then the Orleans from Pittsburgh, under the command of Captain Roosevelt, passed by Louisville enroute for New Orleans; it experienced on the eleventh of December the shock of the great earthquake which for miles left depressions on the river bank.[1]

After eight hours the venerable traveler reached Cincinnati and there changed boats for Wheeling, West Virginia. He was accompanied by Mr. Ellery, a layman of priestly manner and full of kind attentions, who had been a member of the recently disbanded Brotherhood.

The captain of the boat, James May, a genial, thoughtful man and a devout Catholic, gave the Bishop his own private rooms where he could read, write, pray or meditate at pleasure. All the passengers, Catholic and non-Catholic, seemed to appreciate his dignity and were delighted to gather round him at their re-unions, charmed by his simplicity, his courtesy, and his interesting conversations. A non-Catholic lady of Harrisburg, bestowed much praise on the Reverend Mr. Curren, pastor of her home-town.

The Bishop meeting the reverend gentleman at the council was happy to discover him well deserving of all she had said.

The Ohio or Beautiful River, so called by the Indians, meandered through vast forests which, at times, extending heavenwards, became nature's castle's canopied with faultless blue and casting from their turrets countless streamers of varied colors from every side. The early sun-rays piercing through the hazy air, delighted to play with dew-bedecked leaves whose groupings of red and russet and green and yellow multiplied every day. Here and there the woodman's axe showed a clearing, at intervals were signs of human habitation, again smoke and light and noisy bustle told of a future city. Progress, slow but sure, had been made in the two decades since Bishop David passed that way before. One morning on arising he noticed a marked change in the river, and was told it had risen seven feet during the night. He readily attributed the safety of all to Mary Immaculate, his patroness and guide.

At Wheeling he was warmly received by the pastor, the Reverend Mr. Hoever, a young Belgian. Kind friends busied themselves in procuring means for comfortable traveling across the Alleghanies. Among them was a merchant, Mr. Moore, whose wife was a Catholic. After three days the Bishop arrived on the twenty-ninth, the feast of St. Michael, at Frederick, where a cordial welcome was awaiting him from the pastor, an old-time friend, the Rev. John McElroy, S.J.[2] In the rectory was another clergyman whose zealous labors and interesting history were not unknown to the visitor, namely Father Virgil H. Barber, S.J.[3]

Everywhere was evidences of apostolic zeal rewarded. Bishop David admired, and rejoiced, and passed on to Mount St. Mary's whose infancy he had witnessed and whose growth and prosperity were dear to him. Thence he proceeded to a neighboring spot fraught with precious memories, the beautiful St. Joseph's, Mother House of the Sisters of Charity, once the scene of his priestly zeal. Instead of Mother Seton, who had some years before passed to her reward, the Sisters had for their Mother one of his own spiritual children. His impressions on this visit are given in a letter to a member of the Nazareth Sisterhood:

> You know I have visited Baltimore and St. Joseph's Valley; besides many separate establishments of those dear Sisters. Thanks be to God the spirit of the world has not penetrated there. My dear Mother Rose, who was elected for the second time, last July a year, is always the same humble, zealous, fervent soul, I have known her, the same tender charity, simplicity,

submission to superiors, diffidence of herself, but confidence in God and resignation to His Providence. She had need of it now; their holy seraphic confessor is taken from them to be Bishop of Vincennes. He had been their spiritual Father these fifteen years; and to him after God is to be attributed the preservation of the true spirit of their institute. There are now about two hundred members in the whole society, between sixty and seventy in the Motherhouse; the rest are scattered over the immense territory of the United States from Boston to New Orleans; everywhere they are an object of admiration, veneration and gratitude for those who know them, and they are known by their fruits.[4]

He returned on Sunday to Frederick and went by railroad from there to Baltimore, sixty miles in seven hours. He said: "As a Sulpician I could not lodge anywhere else than at the seminary, where my Brethren received me with a most cordial friendship and treated me as a true brother. On Saturday I got acquainted with the Bishop-elect [Purcell] of Cincinnati, who during my thanksgiving after Mass came to ask on his knees my blessing, which I most heartily bestowed on him, being myself in the same fortune."[5]

The next day, October 13, presented the imposing scene of an episcopal consecration in the Cathedral, that of the second Bishop of Cincinnati. Bishop David together with all the prelates who had assembled for the Council was in the sanctuary. Archbishop Whitfield performed the ceremony, and the president of St. Mary's Seminary, the Rev. Dr. Eccleston, was the speaker.

The first session of the Council was held on the twentieth. "The rain," said Bishop David, "prevented the solemn procession. But the people were much struck and affected at the profession of faith made by five of us who had not assisted at the last council. Every day after Mass the congregation of Bishops, ten in number, was held in the Archbishop's parlor from seven to twelve o'clock. And that of the theologians and consultors in the evening in the Cathedral under the Chancellor from four to six. The tolling of the bell for the Angelus was the signal for ending on Thursday."[6]

Friday was devoted to the memory of two deceased members of the first Council, Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, and Bishop De Neckere of New Orleans. A Pontifical Requiem Mass and other splendid ceremonies rendered the event more impressive as did also the funeral oration by the newly consecrated Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati.

Sunday the twenty-seventh, the formal closing of the Council occurred. The Right Reverend Bishop Rosati pontificated and the Right Reverend Bishop England of Charleston, spoke eloquently on this, as he had done on the occasion of the opening of the Council the previous Sunday. Bishop David wrote: "Imposing ceremonies were presented to the faithful; First, a solemn procession round the church, ten Bishops in copes and mitres; two hundred priests in chasubles; six in dalmatics and a good number of clergymen in surplices. Second, the solemn signing on the altar in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament of the decrees by each Bishop in succession in cope and mitre, who had pledged to answer to the reading of each decree *placet*. The mutual *osculum pacis*."[7]

The several days which elapsed before his departure for Kentucky, were spent in delightful intercourse with old friends and in visiting other familiar scenes. He gave his brethren of St. Sulpice the gratification of a Pontifical Mass in the beautiful seminary chapel where years before he had kept many a congregation hanging on his soul-stirring words, who on departing were resolved to seek in life only what is highest and best.

He was the guest for a brief while of the Jesuit Fathers at Georgetown College. He noted the material and intellectual progress of the institution; the style of architecture chosen for the additions, the well-equipped departments, especially the library which he says contained even a Chinese dictionary, and last, but not least, the numerous students, there being one hundred and seventy-two boarders, and a still greater number of day pupils.

At the Visitation Convent he "was in a sort of rapture all the time" while listening to accounts of the many miraculous cures which had been wrought in that Community.

The farewells were finally spoken, and accompanied by Mr. Ellery he set out from Frederick, where he was joined by Bishop Purcell and his party, consisting of five students, two Sisters of Charity and a housekeeper. A week later, very early on November 14, they arrived at Cincinnati in the steamer Emigrant. "There I found," he said, "my good Bishop Flaget who had been waiting for me since the preceding Monday. We both repaired to the Cathedral, assisted at the solemn reception of the new Bishop, initiated him with a short, but impressive address of Bishop Flaget. We left the next day and arrived Saturday in Louisville."[8]

On Sunday evening Bishop David reached Bardstown, delighted

with his experience: "Monsignor David has returned in excellent health," wrote Bishop Flaget to Bishop Kenrick, "relating with great effusion of heart, all the marks of endearment bestowed on him, all the honors which he received from the Fathers of the Council and above all the manifestations of loving and delicate friendship which you in particular have bestowed upon him. I regard as done to myself whatever has been done to this venerable Prelate and return the most sincere and heart-felt thanks."

If the springs of early affection had been opened anew as he moved among the old scenes and mingled with his beloved friends of Maryland, how soothing, how invigorating on his return to Kentucky were the beaming countenances on every side, assuring him of love and welcome before the words were uttered! Oh! it meant much to him to be home again. With pleasure he attended each reception in his honor, admiring the skill with which it was planned and executed, and listening with delight to flowing verse and music's magic strains telling of the joy which his return had brought into convent and home, into seminary and college. Surely the evening of life was letting in new rays of sunshine. In his daughters of Nazareth he was gratified beyond expectation. Thoughtfully, tactfully, were the little things that make the charm of life, bestowed on him whenever he came to his beloved Nazareth. Yes, and they reached him daily in his home at Bardstown.

Shortly after his return from Baltimore, he wrote to a Sister in Union County:

St. Joseph's Seminary
19th December, 1833.

It was a great satisfaction to me, my dear Sister, to see the two sisters who returned from Union. But I was disappointed in not receiving letters from any but Sister Philippa. However they explained the matter to me, they assured me that they had all written to me by a private hand, before I went on my journey; and that Bishop Flaget had received the letters. I had been more than three weeks in the seminary but he had forgotten. I then asked him, and it was but the next day that he found them. I have just now finished my letter to Sister Philippa and I must answer yours. It will cause some expense as I have no other way than by mail. I am glad to know that I have faithful Daughters who preserve in their hearts gratitude for one who has devoted his life, his labors and his health for their spiritual welfare. He looks to God for his reward. I assure you, my dear Daughter, that the

sincere gratitude and affection of a dutiful child is a great relief to a Father's heart, and a real compensation.

I enjoyed good health during my journey and since my return, except some little accidental infirmities. I am obliged to labor as you, both for the seminary and the few Sisters here, who are a great consolation to me. I have not time to say more. I will write more at length another time. Pray for me. Give my love to Sister Angela and the rest of the sisters. Let them all and yourself pray for one who never will cease to be their affectionate Father in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

✠John B. M., Bishop of Mauricastro.

Assure Sisters Susan and Dorothy that I will answer their letters by the first opportunity.[10]

Bishop David regretted that he could not bring to his beloved ordinary any tidings in regard to a prospective coadjutor, as the question was not taken up by the Council. A whole year of anxious waiting passed before Rome seemed mindful of the request. When finally word arrived, both prelates proceeded with grateful hearts to prepare for the event. This is the news communicated, on July 6, 1834, to Bishop Purcell:

Most dear Lord and Brother:

At last on the 27th of June, the Bulls making Monsignor Chabrat my coadjutor and my successor have arrived; and on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul I gave them to him, after having begged these two great apostles to obtain for him some sparks of that divine fire which consumed them. Before giving the final answer he asked for some days of recollection and prayer. Today all is accepted and regulated. On the twentieth of the month, the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, the consecration will take place in the Cathedral of Bardstown. I beg you to be so good as to be there in the capacity of assistant Bishop and speaker. Bring one or two chaplains with you, and try to so arrange affairs as to spend the rest of the month with us.

As to your traveling expenses, have no uneasiness. The father, who is about to marry his eldest son, is always rich enough for the occasion, and is able to provide everything, if not with magnificence, at least with an honorable sufficiency.

For the love of God help us in this religious work, and oblige not only the Bishop-elect, who has urged me to invite you, but also the two oldest patriarchs of the Church of America.

✠Benedict Joseph, Bishop of Bardstown.
✠John B. M. David, Bishop of Mauricastro.[11]

As I am not sure that you will come, I have asked one of my priests to be ready to preach on that day. But as it will be Sunday, I shall be glad, if you are prepared, to have you preach at Vespers where there will be as many present as at Mass.

B. J.

Circumstances prevented Bishop Purcell from lending his presence to the splendor of the occasion. Bishop Flaget was assisted in the ceremony by the Right Reverend Bishop David and the Very Reverend R. P. Miles, O.P. The Cathedral was thronged to its utmost, and the sacred event lacked nothing to make it impressive.

Bishop Chabrat took up the duties of the episcopacy with the same zeal that characterized his services as a priest; nor did he relax in any particular until the inroads of disease had undermined his health, and threatened him with the loss of one of nature's most precious gifts, that of sight. In 1847, he was obliged to resign his office as coadjutor, remaining titular Bishop of Bolina.

In the bosom of his own family in France he spent the last years of his life, cut off from earth's bright sunlight; but spiritually illumined, no doubt, by the flames of divine love, kept aglow by the fuel of patience and resignation to the holy will of God.

CHAPTER XVIII

Bishop David and Vincennes, 1834

With no apprehension concerning the welfare of the diocese, did Bishop David see the ordinary set out for his long-deferred visit to Rome. He would keenly miss that kindly presence, yes, would count the days of absence as he had often done in the years gone by, when fear lest attacks of savage beasts or not less savage Indians would prevent forever the return of his beloved Bishop, travel-bound on some distant western wild. But in regard to the adminstration of the diocese, now in the hands of a young efficient prelate, there need be no concern.

An event of deep interest and of general importance was to precede Bishop Flaget's departure. Among the decrees which the Second Council of Baltimore submitted to Rome, was one petitioning the erection of Vincennes into an episcopal see with the Reverend Dr. Bruté of Mount St. Mary's Seminary for its head. Rome granted the request without delay.

The Bishop-elect, on receiving the Bulls, felt a hesitancy about accepting the responsibility and, in his perplexity, had recourse to his venerable friends, the Bishops of Kentucky. They were not long in deciding that since from his youth he had been thoroughly prepared for so exalted a position, he should acquiesce in the wish of the Holy See. In the following letter Bishop David gladly communicated the tidings to Bishop Purcell, suggesting the time and place for the ceremony of consecration:

St. Joseph Seminary, 23d August, 1834.

Right Reverend and Very Dear Brother:

When I received your favor of the 12th inst. I was so anxious to answer it immediately that I have a serious doubt whether I did it or not. Not being able to ascertain the case, I choose rather a repetition than not to fulfill a duty. The acceptation of our dear friend has been a subject of joy to all lovers of the Church. He declared to us the only condition was that Bishop Flaget and myself should say Yes. We have said it, therefore, the *causa finita est.* He proposed for the day of his consecration either the feast of the Angel Guardian, or better, the first Sunday of October, being the Solemnity of the Rosary. The first would require an *Indicto,* which perhaps he has, but we chose the second and wrote to him accordingly.

The plan of his journey which he proposes in his letter to you, seems to me wise. Could you not advance the day of the dedication of your German Church? It might with great propriety take place on Sunday, the 21st of September, Feast of St. Matthew. Bishop Rosati proposes to consecrate his cathedral on the 26th of October. I doubt whether he will have it ready for that day. We shall have more certain news in the course of September. As to our attending at Cincinnati, I would do it with all my heart, but my old age and infirmities are an obstacle, especially if I must also, as I am threatened, go to the consecration at St. Louis, as there is a proposal of calling thither all the Bishops of the West, that is *seven,* and even *eight,* if Mr. Jeanjean should consent to his consecration also. I hope you will fix the day of your ceremony on the Sunday I have mentioned, or if you wish for a feast of the Blessed Virgin, on the 24th, Feast of B. V. de Mercede on the 25th, *S. Nominis Mariae,* or the 28th, a Sunday, *Festum Septem Dolorem,* B. V.

Even this last would leave you a sufficient time to be in Bardstown and to visit some of our establishments in Kentucky, Loretto, St. Mary's College of the Jesuits, St. Rose's, etc. I hope Bishop Rosati will come. Then he will decide what course we are to take toward St. Louis whether through Vincennes to St. Louis or vice versa. Our zealous coadjutor is in the full exercise of his functions, giving the jubilee to several congregations which had not yet enjoyed that favor. Bishop Flaget is of the same opinion with me about the day of the dedication of your church and of Bishop Bruté's consecration. He sends you his kind compliments. I earnestly entreat you not to forget in your prayers, especially at the Holy Altar,

Your old and truly devoted Brother in Christ,

✠John B. M. Bp. of Mauricastro.[1]

Dr. Bruté's confidence in the judgment of the western prelates was not limited to the older ones. He had for Bishop Chabrat also a deep affection, and the friendship of a companion and an equal. To him he poured out the sentiments of his soul in deliberating whether or not he should accept the appointment. It is interesting to follow his self-introspection and the pros and cons which are presented, weighed and disposed of in the following letter to Bishop Chabrat:

Eternity!!

Under the auspices of Mary

Right Rev. and Dear Friend,

Behold now you are consecrated, *ad multos annos,* all faith, all love, all holy abandonment. You are saying, as Monsignor Purcell said on receiving the Bulls which Jesus Christ sent

through his vicar on earth, "I can do all things in Him who strengthens me." The same orders have reached me. The view of their heavenly origin strikes me quite otherwise than in 1832. I refused without hesitation the first simple nomination, the reasons were so obvious. All things considered, I believe now, as I wrote to Monsignors Flaget and David and in their heart even to you, worthy and life-long friend, and now by grace like them, that I must accept.

However, no matter how holy and divine appears in the eyes of Catholics and priests the mission received from Rome, and, although Monsignor David makes it a principle of necessity that I accept, yet since Rome grants time for accepting and since the frequent practice of refusing meets with no reproach, I feel that I am yet free. During this painful suspense I must preserve my peace of mind and seek only the will of God. If after my nomination by the Council, the Bulls charged me in conscience to accept, and permitted no deliberation, I would have promptly obeyed, but they state I ought to be ready to accept, I think a chance ought yet to be granted to the new diocese concerning a nomination promising so little for its beginning, and that the opinion should be reconsidered by the neighboring bishops, ones who know me so well.

Since the departure of my letter to Bishops Flaget, David, Purcell and Rosati, the thought occurred to write to you, the young coadjutor, and conjure you to tell me or to tell them, as you would on your death-bed, 1st whether it would be better for me to refuse, 2nd whether there would be any more serious inconvenience than a new delay of six months, I am going to place on the following page all my reasons. Think awhile you, the youngest, as I have said, and the one destined to rule for so long the nearest diocese and the one of which Vincennes has been a part until now.

(Reasons)

1—Notwithstanding good health, at my age one's strength is diminishing. A little hernia which I have on my right side may come against me in mounting horses, swimming rivers, holding myself properly in the saddle when the currents are rapid. Even though the country is becoming populous, traveling will be frequent and indispensable. Still I have no decisive objection here.

2—My English continues imperfect, the more so since I have lost my teeth. "They do not understand you," I am frequently told. This occurs less in the instructions I give than in familiar conversation, and especially in matters of technical affairs—building, money, etc. My French, too, has suffered.

3—Because of my duty for the past ten years in the Seminary

and with the Sisters I have lost aptitude in dealing with all kinds of people in the capacity of father, friend and pastor. I lack the amiability of Monsignor Flaget or Monsignor David, or Monsignor Fenwick, the first Bishop of Ohio, or Monsignor Fenwick of Boston. Good will can scarcely supply for the lack of sociability and experience.

4—My application to books, to teaching, to abstraction and to generalities has deprived me of the taste and aptitude for advancement in a knowledge of the affairs of government, details, accounts—everything required for the material side of the diocese, as of a congregation . . . dealings with families, particulars to be remembered on which depend so much . . .

5—A new bishop should have much intercourse with the non-Catholics who form a large part of the population, to this I am little inclined, the same as to magistrates, and I have less idea than any one of the laws and family adjustments of property and neither taste nor memory for such things. I am without funds, poor as Job except for my old books.

6—Now see what has been taken from me, books, Sisters, seminary—this last above all. Had St. Sulpice adopted this house I would fear less. But I am as an old tree, the rallying post, the pillar of confidence for the young masters as to theology, spiritual reading, a support of the others in seeing me as their associate in this seminary work, as to the Sisters, less notable, yet I appear useful there . . .

7—Now in regard to the necessary virtue. Ah! It is said each should consider himself poorest here. What of exterior mildness? Of temper, so vital in regard to ruling and counseling? Here I am lacking. Yet, sincerely, I dread this fault less than the above reasons. For in carrying out of actual resolutions, I generally find myself on the moderate side. I have had quite often to repress extremes. What is lacking in me is repression of voice, signs of vexation, hastiness in responding, a bad listener,—great faults.

Finally, there is a constant reiteration of an impulse that came at the close of my three days' retreat. I find myself saying "all things considered, I will accept, if my friends insist, I shall regard it as the best in Our Lord."

As to the second question, six months delay for a better nomination. Would it be an inconvenience? Another Purcell or Chabrat would more than compensate for ten or twenty times the delay. Moreover, the idea which I communicated to Monsignor David occurs to me again, couldn't his Lordship govern that diocese for a time and for its greater good?

See, worthy friend, if even with the Bulls in hand I have

not considerable reason to hesitate? Undoubtedly the Lord in His mercy manages the new churches of this country but I, poor atom, deserve to be left for a time to my illusion, to lose myself. The Lord will draw His glory from my abasement. I may well be alarmed at the extreme disproportion between accepting and refusing. Then all seems solved, and my friends place themselves on the same side, adding their convictions to those which the above reasons carry, what shall I say? Shall I accept? Truly I know not how to express it, how to develop, how to justify. All appears presumption, illusion."

To sum up:

1—The fact of the Bulls, their direct impression, neither sought nor desired.

2—The actual intention, as pure as I can regulate it, even at the hour of death.

3—The voices from the West, from the altar,—their grace and light as at the moment of death.

4—My own altar also,—even after the most painful uncertainty there is each time a new peace and an impulse *to go*.

5—My fear of what another line of Providence may be for this diocese, should I alter this which was made for it not by me.

6—The disproportion of human means for a task so enormous is the same for another as for me. There are a half million souls of various religious beliefs, with four or five hundred ministers (three hundred and eight in 1830). They have schools of all kinds and money, while we have one priest to care for a thousand Catholics, scattered in that multitude. The Council, however, with eyes wide open asks for a bishop, Rome says let it be. Oh! what matter who goes, provided he goes with purity of intention and entire abandonment.

7—There comes a kind of resolution to go after the manner of the Apostles in the greatest possible simplicity. For each moment the Lord has in view means of grace for me and for all,—the altar, the sacraments, prayer, instruction. What presumption to have lived so little in conformity to the spirit of faith and then to hope to be all at once as Bishop Fenwick, Bishop Egan and others who have passed away, not to speak of the living!

8—Shall I add the hope of promptly obtaining a good coadjutor and serving him only as a footstool? Yet who am I to be named first bishop,—footstool! Who am I to believe there is importance in accepting and danger in refusing, yes, danger for the diocese. After all, worthy friend, it is for its welfare that I fear to accept or to refuse. Personally it seems

to me fear of accepting is more emphatic, since there are so many arguments and counsels showing that a refusal is safest and surest.

Read—Pray—I shall await in peace those letters from the West. I am addressing this to Monsignor Flaget in case you should be absent. S. Bruté.

Should they decide to say: "Come," I shall be ready and glad. Should they say: "All things considered, it would be better to remain," I shall be ready and even better satisfied.[2]

The consecration of Father Bruté occurred in St. Louis on the feast of Saints Simon and Jude. On the preceding Sunday, October 26, the new cathedral was consecrated, so that the same august gathering of ecclesiastics adorned both occasions to the great satisfaction and edification of the faithful.

Ill health prevented Bishop David from being present. He had hoped to go, and to find additional pleasure in seeing friends on the way. His anticipations and again his disappointment at his enforced absence are expressed in the following letters to Sister Elizabeth:

Bishop Flaget intends [on returning from St. Louis] to direct his way through Union County to Bardstown. He speaks of my accompanying the prelates to those places. Considering my age and infirmities, I am very little able to undertake so long and painful a journey. Yet, if the Bishop insists, I will obey and trust to Divine Providence. I have two or three of my former children in St. Louis, and God only knows what a satisfaction it would be to see you and Philippa.

And later he wrote to the same:

I am doubly afflicted, my dear Elizabeth, not to have it in my power to enjoy the satisfaction of a visit to my dear Daughters of St. Vincent, and to find myself in the necessity of disappointing them in an expectation which appears to be so dear to their hearts. The plan of operations first projected for the consecration of Bishop Bruté, his installation at Vincennes, and the subsequent consecration of the Cathedral of St. Louis has been totally changed. The consecration of the church is fixed for the 26th of October, that of the Bishop for the 28th, feast of St. Simon, his patron saint. No mention has been made since of my going to either place, nor, of course, of my going to St. Vincent. In fact, I am little able to undertake such a journey, and, indeed, nothing but obedience to Bishop Flaget could have induced me to go. Thus, my beloved Daughter, we must be resigned and content ourselves with see-

ing one another with the eyes of the soul, until we meet and see one another in the kingdom of God, for I have no expectation of seeing you otherwise, unless you come to this place.[3]

To his apartments in "the white house," the first which could be properly called an episcopal mansion, Bishop David, following Sulpician associations, gave the name of "Solitude." There he spent most of his time in communing with God, memory weaving a golden texture of happy events from a period of more than three score years. Around him were consolatory conditions. The works which, almost single-handed, he had begun in the prime of life, were passing to those whose ideals he had helped to shape and whose youth and energy promised to secure their solidarity and permanence.

In the absence of the Ordinary, the plan of establishing a "Little Propaganda of the West" was not attempted. Dr. Spalding on returning from Rome (1834) was assigned to the pastorate of the cathedral and to a membership in the faculty of St. Joseph's College.

A notable feature of his first year on the college staff was the publishing of a Catholic paper. It was a monthly, entitled the *St. Joseph College Minerva,* and was rather a literary than a religious or political magazine. The success of this pioneer effort and the fact that the Catholics of the State were able to publish and support a weekly paper devoted to the defense of the doctrines and principles of the Church, led to the publishing of the *Catholic Advocate.*

It made its first appearance in February, 1835, and the *Minerva* then ceased to exist. Dr. Spalding was editor-in-chief of the new weekly. The associate editors were the Reverend George A. M. Elder, the Reverend H. C. De Luynes and the Reverend William E. Clark. The first issue containing the salutatory, written by the editor-in-chief, awakened astonishment in the public at large that the votaries of a despised religion could have such an organ. "The ring of combat sounded through the Salutatory of the *Advocate* from the first sentence to the end. American-born hands held the pen, the spirit of American independence fired the pregnant sentences."[4] Immeasurable and far reaching was the good done by this admirable weekly at a time when such papers were few in the country, and throughout the long period of its existence as its editorship passed from one able hand to another.

The hope which Bishop David cherished as to the future St.

Joseph's College was realized through a medium which he had not foreseen. On returning from Europe, in 1839, Bishop Flaget remembering the difficulties and anxieties which he had experienced in trying to keep up its high standard, resolved to place the college in the hands of a Religious Order, and accordingly opened negotiations with Bishop Rosati to obtain a colony of Lazarists. How earnestly the latter took up the cause is seen in the following to his confrère, the Very Reverend John Timon of the Congregation of the Missions:

> Whilst in Kentucky the Right Reverend Bishops Flaget and Chabrat requested me to propose to you and to the Superior-General an affair of great importance for the general good of religion and that of our Congregation. Although at first my diocese might lose some advantage by it, yet as it has always been my principle and my practice to prefer the greater and the general good to that of localities and individuals, I promised to write in his favor to you and to the Superior-General. He wishes to give to the Congregation the College of St. Joseph at Bardstown and he can do it without any objection from his secular clergy, who see that a Community is absolutely necessary to conduct it properly; those who are now at the head of it wish to retire. The College is in a flourishing condition. They have between boarders and externs more than a hundred and fifty scholars, the college has no debts, is well furnished, has a number sufficient of servants, and every advantage that can be wished for. The Bishop would know if in the course of June or July he could have our priests. He says that two who speak English would be sufficient, the others will do although they should only speak French. It is his intention also to place his seminary under the care of the Lazarists. Now, my dear Sir, I think that these affairs should not be refused. You know the college, its . . . and this is worth thousands to us. Write to the Superior-General. I shall also to-day.[5]

The services of the Lazarists were not obtained, nor were those of the Holy Cross Fathers of Notre Dame, Indiana, who were asked for later, but God was pleased to rejoice the heart of the Venerable Bishop before he died, by sending him, in 1848, a colony of that admirable teaching Order, the Jesuits. They came from the vice-province of St. Louis and were welcome to Kentucky where their invaluable work at St. Mary's College, Marion County, was known to all. With their advent began for grand old St. Joseph's a long period of uninterrupted prosperity worthy

of its early promise, when the vigorous intellect and prudent wisdom of Bishop David were guiding it.

Blessed, indeed, was Vincennes in possessing Bishop Bruté. His untiring efforts in behalf of religion throughout Indiana and that part of Illinois allotted to him met with uncommon success. He enriched his vineyard by laborers and funds secured on his visit to France.

The frequent and fruitful intercourse with his neighboring friends, the Kentucky prelates, strengthened their mutual admiration, and awakened, especially in Bishop David whose sympathy was the outcome of similarity of character and life-long habits of thought and action, a solicitude lest the ravages of disease would soon bring to an end the labors of this great apostolic man. He was correct. Only five brief years did Vincennes enjoy the wise and gentle rule of her distinguished and enlightened first bishop.

CHAPTER XIX

Closing Years (1834-1839)

Free from administrative work, Bishop David adhered to his life-long practice of employing his time for the benefit of others, nor were opportunities wanting. His readiness to serve made few hesitate to call for assistance. Now some spiritual counsel was needed, again some intellectual problem called for solution, a musical composition was to be criticized, or, may be, a piece of literary work to be produced, requiring pen in hand for weeks. Whatever the demand, he rejoiced at the fact that he could yet be useful.

Although English was not his mother-tongue, he handled it with sufficient skill to be asked from time to time to give an article to different periodicals. In response to such a request on the part of the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph,* he wrote:

Right Reverend and Very dear Brother,

I have seen from two letters written by you to Bishop Flaget that you desire me to contribute my mite to your *Telegraph.* It would be a mite, indeed, and a very little one. An old, infirm, often aching, and sometimes swimming head, with a load of seventy-three years upon it, cannot produce much for a periodical, nothing especially of what is called original. Right Reverend Bishop Kenrick when living with us, persuaded me to write some articles for the *Metropolitan.* I made an essay on some biography. . . . It was a mere compilation, sometimes a mere translation of Bossuet's Elevation, and Saey's Commentary and a few other authors that I met with. I continued it to the Biography of Adam, the last article which came for insertion when the paper was given up. I had prepared a digression *on the transmission* of Original Sin and intended another *on the salvation* of Adam and Eve. Should you fancy to take up these articles for the *Telegraph,* I will have no objection to it. I will even try to continue these biographical articles, as well as I can. Should this not suit you, we have here four years of the *Memorial Catholique,* a French periodical, whence many good articles could be extracted. If you had rather have these, I will do my best to translate them. I think many good things could be had from Bergier's theological dictionary. Be assured, my dear Brother, that if a good will to oblige you, and to contribute to the good of re-

ligion were sufficient, I would afford you a most efficient aid in your zealous undertakings.[1]

Being informed by Bishop Fenwick of Boston of a great disaster which befell some work that he had been doing, not only does Bishop David extend to him a brotherly sympathy, but showed the ready will and ability to aid in repairing the loss. He thus tells of it:

> The Bishop of Boston desirous of doing something for the divine worship, has caused a book to be printed containing all the Gregorian chant through the year harmonized for the organ. He wishes to simplify the singing so that the faithful in the church may join with the choir. God has sent him a great trial. The plates of the first part, of which a hundred copies only had been struck have been destroyed in a fire that consumed the shop where they were kept, and what is more, the manuscript for the second part compiled with great labor, was also consumed before it could be printed. I have engaged to give him all the help in my power.[2]

Bishop David devoted much time during those years of retirement to translating. Some of the works of St. Alphonsus Liguori came into English through him, also those of Bellarmine. A small volume of the latter entitled *The Felicity of the Saints* has the following beautiful preface written by Bishop David at the age of seventy-seven:

> In the foregoing year I wrote, for my own spiritual profit, a small book under the title of *The Ascent of the Soul to God by the Ladder of Created Things*. Now, since God is pleased to protract my old age, a little longer; it comes into my mind to turn my meditations on that heavenly country to which we, the banished children of Adam, who dwell, mourning and weeping in this valley of tears and mortality, all aspire; and to commit them to writing, lest they should be lost. Looking, therefore, in the Holy Scriptures, which seem to be, as it were, consolatory epistles transmitted by our Father from our heavenly country to us in this our exile; I find four names, by which the goods of that place may be, in some measure, made known to us. These names are, Paradise, House, City, and Kingdom. Of the Paradise St. Paul says: "I know a man in Christ, above fourteen years ago, such a one caught up to the third Heaven" and a little after: "That he was caught up into Paradise," where, that we might not think that he meant the earthly paradise, he premised these words: "Caught up to the third heaven." Of the House, the Son of God speaks

thus: "In the House of My Father there are many mansions." Of the City, the Apostle says in his epistle to the Hebrews: "You are come to the City of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." Of the Kingdom, our Lord Himself says in St. Matthew: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." Nor is there anything more frequently mentioned, in the Sacred Writ, than this name. The dwelling place of the saints in Heaven is called Paradise because it is a most pleasant place, abounding in delights. But because men might imagine that Paradise is but a common garden, situated in the corner of a lot, which can contain but a few men, the Scripture has added the name of a House: because a royal House is generally a spacious place in which, besides the garden, are also to be found courts, halls, dining rooms, chambers and many such apartments. But because a House, however spacious, still cannot contain a great multitude of men; lest we might be induced to think that but very few would obtain eternal life; the Scriptures added the name of a City which includes many gardens and many palaces. Moreover as with respect to the number of the Blessed, St. John has written in the Apocalypse "I saw a great multitude, which no man could number": and as there is no city that can contain in its enclosure an innumerable multitude, the Holy Scripture has added the name of Kingdom and of the Kingdom of Heaven; than which no other place in the whole universe is more capacious.

But again, because in the most extensive Kingdom there are many who never see most of the inhabitants of the same kingdom, nor even know their names, nor whether there are such men in the world; and, however, it is certain that the Blessed are all seen and known by all, and converse familiarly with one another, as friends and neighbors are wont to do; therefore the Scripture, not content with the name of Kingdom, has added that of City; that we may understand that the inhabitants of that kingdom, although most spacious and vast, are truly fellow citizens of the Saints, united and familiar with one another, even as the citizens of one and the same small city. And that we may know, besides, that those happy men are not only fellow citizens of the Saints but also the domestics of God, nay, even the children of God; therefore, the Spirit of God calls likewise a House, what he had called a city. And finally, because all the Blessed enjoy the same delights in heaven, he has given it also the name of Paradise.

Therefore the four names, kingdom, city, house, paradise, signify one and the same thing; and that paradise is spacious enough to be truly called also a house, a city, and a kingdom;

therefore I have proposed to myself to meditate in the chamber of my heart, on this most happy place, first under the name of Kingdom; then under the name of City; next under the name of House, and lastly, under the name of Paradise, and to commit to writing what God will vouchsafe to suggest to my mind. I will add, towards the end of this work, six other names, not of places, but of things, from the Parables of Our Lord, to wit: the treasure hidden in a field; the precious pearl; the daily penny of the laborer; the joy of the Lord; the great supper; and the royal marriage feast; and two others from the Apostle: viz., the Prize, and the Crown. Thus there shall be in all, twelve considerations on the twelve names, under which the eternal felicity of the Saints is described in the Holy Scriptures.

His entire literary works as well as the writer can gather them are: *True Piety* (Baltimore, 1814). This is a prayer book which is even yet favorably regarded by intelligent Catholics. A second edition of it was published in 1824 (Lexington, Kentucky Gazette Office). A supplement to *True Piety* was published in 1815 (Bardstown, Bard & Edrington). It is a collection of sacred hymns intended for use in the Catholic Churches of Kentucky. In the collection are some of his own composition. That on page 34, *A Song of Praise to Christ Risen from the Dead* is his:

Sion, rejoice!—let joyful songs
Replace thy doleful lays.
Ye, Angels, lend your heav'nly tongues,
To sing our Savior's praise,
Lo! from the grave, in bright array,
Comes forth our glorious King;
O Death! where is thy victory?
O Death! where is thy sting?

Now Death has lost his cruel sway,
Since our Emmanuel rose;
He took the Tyrant's sting away
And spoil'd our hellish foes.
Hosanna to the prince of light,
Who cloth'd himself in clay,
Enter'd the frightful gates of night,
And tore the bars away.

Great Lord! to thine Almighty name
These Sacred hours we pay;
Loud alleluias shall proclaim
The triumph of the day.

Raise then your voices, mortal tongues,
To reach his blest abode;
Sweet be the accents of your songs,
To our triumphing God.

Bright Angels strike your loudest strings,
Your sweetest voices raise;
Let Heav'n and all created things,
Sound our Emmanuel's praise.
Salvation and immortal fame,
To our victorious king!
O! let the whole creation frame
With Alleluias ring.

His hymns gained their merit chiefly from the music which he composed for their accompaniment.

His *Catechism of Christian Doctrine,* 1825, (Bardstown—N. Wickliffe & S. Raily) is still used in many schools, especially in those of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth and those of the Xaverian Brothers. There is a preface by the author and later editions have a biographical sketch of him.

Vindication of Catholic Doctrine Concerning the Use and Veneration of Images; the Honor and Invocation of the Saints, and the Keeping and Honoring of their Relics (S. Penn, Louisville, 1821) is a pamphlet of sixty-four pages. In it Bishop David exhausts the subject under controversy and presents an unanswerable array of evidence, supporting the Catholic doctrines attacked by the Rev. Nathan Hall.

In 1822, he published *An Address on the Rule of Faith to his Brethren of Other Professions.* (S. Penn, Louisville)

A Defense of the Vindication, etc. (James W. Palmer, Lexington, 1823) was brought forth by Rev. Nathan Hall's *Reply.* This mighty defense comprised one hundred and six pages in print which to-day would cover more than twice the space. It has been described in a preceding chapter.

Spiritual Retreat of Eight Days by the Rt. Rev. J. M. David, D.D., First Coadjutor of Bishop Flaget, edited with Additions and An Introduction by M. J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville (Webb & Levering, Louisville, 1864) has also been described.

Besides these works he left numerous manuscripts such as *Rules and Instructions for the Sisters of Charity; Rules and Instructions for the Brothers of Monte Casino; Miscellaneous Instructions* also a *Compilation of Church Music and Hymns* (Webb & Levering, Louisville, 1815).

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His contributions to the *Metropolitan* and other periodicals were, like all his writings, marked by strength of mind uncommon in one not using his mother-tongue. All the subjects which he chose for his pen were in keeping with his habits of thought and mode of life.

Many were unwilling to be deprived of his spiritual care, consequently he was often in the sacred tribunal, applying the balm of consolation to afflicted souls and lighting up for others their path, darkened by sin or temptation. At Nazareth he was wont to spend days and even weeks; he generously responded to a plea for an instruction, now for the Sisters; again, for the novices or the pupils. His humility manifested itself by showing gratitude for every mark of thoughtful affection from his daughters; human, indeed, he was as are all God's saints who, instead of stifling natural affections, super-naturalize them.

Even at important public functions he occasionally officiated. Such a one was the raising to the priesthood in the Cathedral of Bardstown on June 13, 1835, the Reverend John McGill, a member of the congregation. The joyful event drew a large concourse. The young man had abandoned a brilliant legal career for the duties of the sanctuary. Fifteen years later in the same Cathedral his parents and friends had the singular privilege of witnessing the solemn ceremony of his episcopal consecration, on his elevation to the see of Richmond, Virginia.

The family of McGills had come from Philadelphia to Bardstown in 1818, and their eldest son, John, was one of the first students enrolled in St. Joseph's College. On graduating, he studied law and practiced it with a success that promised early fame, but such a prospect could not appease the craving of his heart for the ecclesiastical state. Responding to the divine call, he entered St. Joseph's Seminary, and began under Bishop David the study of theology, which he completed at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.

After his ordination he held different positions of responsibility in the diocese, editing for a period the *Catholic Advocate*. He was chosen by Bishop Chabrat to go to Europe in 1838 for the purpose of accompanying the aged Bishop Flaget back to America.[3]

Notwithstanding the variety of employment, there was leisure, as there always is, for the aged to revel in the scenes of childhood and youth, and Bishop David found himself often transported in mind to his beloved France, where his friend Bishop

Flaget was sojourning. He waited eagerly for every letter. And what a treat when one did come! How vivid the old home arose, the church, the rectory, yes, even the graves of his loved ones! Hearing from Nantes, his own college town, made him feel again the warmth and joy that come when the powers of mind and soul unfold in an atmosphere of science and religion. On his ears fell once more the voice of his parents, of his friends, of the youths whom he had tutored. From Angers, too, the Bishop wrote: for both of them this place had associations, tender, soul-inspiring and terrible.

There Bishop Flaget was forced to remain five months, because of a severe lung attack. Skilful and tender attention finally restored him to health, and enabled him to resume his travels. Wherever he went, marks of esteem and reverence were lavished upon him by persons of every rank in Church anl State. He was "the saintly Bishop from America," "the dear old missionary Bishop," "the Bishop who works miracles." Not until the fall of 1836 did he reach the goal of his journey. Then he wrote wonderful accounts of the Eternal City; of the privileges granted him; of his several long interviews with Pope Gregory XVI; of the requests which he made of His Holiness in behalf of the Church in general and of his own diocese in particular; of the permission obtained to transfer the see from Bardstown to Louisville.

Having spent all winter in the Eternal City, he set out early after Easter, charged with a special mission. At the suggestion and insistence of many French prelates the Holy Father imposed on him the duty of preaching in the diocese of northern Italy and of France in behalf of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, persuaded that many would be induced to join the Association through his exposition of the needs of religion in the foreign land from which he came.[4]

Besides the consoling news from over the sea, Bishop David had reason to rejoice at the progress which religion was making in Kentucky where the young clergymen were earnestly exercising their zeal in behalf of the flock entrusted to them.

> Our zealous missionaries, he says, the [Rev.] Messrs. Spalding, Abell, Evremond have given a retreat to the congregations around and in the Cathedral during eight days, three sermons a day, besides the other exercises; the success has surpassed our hopes, more than six hundred Communions have crowned the good work.
>
> Moreover a new Bishop was consecrated yesterday by the Right Reverend Mr. Miles. We were afraid of being left alone

—Bishop Chabrat and myself. But the good Bishops of St. Louis and Cincinnati left all their appointments to come to our assistance. Bishop Rosati was the consecrator, Bishop Chabrat and Bishop Bruté were assistants. I assisted in my old chair, but was obliged to retire about the Preface. . . . However, I had the happiness to hear the excellent sermon of Reverend Mr. Timon (C.M.). The clergy were numerous. Everything was well performed. The boarders of Nazareth were present with some of the sisters.[5]

In all his letters no matter of what subject they treated he never failed to make a digression in order to speak of the absent prelate, now rejoicing at the good which he was effecting by preaching for the increase of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, again solicitous lest the fatigue incident on frequent change of place and constant exertion would prove too much for his advanced years and failing strength, but always showing a longing which only that presence could satisfy.

To Rev. John Timon, C.M., Superior of St. Mary's Seminary, Barrens, Missouri, he wrote:

I confess that I am at a loss how to acknowledge your great kindness and liberality towards me; a good while ago you sent me a present—and a very acceptable one it was—four neatly bound and beautifully printed volumes entitled *Les Derniers Bretons* for which, grateful as I was, I had the misfortune of forgetting to give you due thanks at your last visit here. This forgetfulness was not from the heart, but an effect of the weakness of my infirm old head. I was still more sensible of my omission when I was presented the other day from you, with the *Symbolique* in two neatly bound volumes. They occupy a conspicuous place in my little library and remind me of your kind friendship.

We are now in daily expectation of our dear Bishop who was to leave Havre on the 8th of July, accompanied by Bishop Purcell and Rev. Mr. McGill, also with the Bishop's niece, and two young ladies one of whom has learned with her the art of teaching the deaf and dumb, and the other understands pharmacy. Several missionary recruits will accompany both Bishops. We have been long expecting our dear Prelate, but no one more anxiously than myself. I wish to prepare with him my accounts with my great Judge, after which I will willingly say my *Nunc Dimittis*, my old age and increasing infirmities warn me to be in earnest. Pray for me that I may be a true servitant.

I was very sorry that you would not come to give the retreat to our Sisters. Rev. Mr. de Luynes has performed the

task, and as far as I can hear, to the satisfaction of the Sisters. Rev. Mr. Reynolds has obtained leave of absence for two years. He intends to revisit France and, perhaps, Rome.[6]

At last, on the 7th of October, the glad pealing of college and Cathedral bells told Bishop David and all Bardstown that the prelate had arrived. The inhabitants of the little town dropped whatever work they were doing and hastened to get a glimpse of their long-absent father. At the entrance of the Cathedral the Bishops with the clergy assembled to welcome him, and most affecting was the meeting, as with fatherly love he embraced each before crossing the threshold to render thanks to his God in the Tabernacle. Young again seemed Bishop David on beholding once more that beloved form and finding neither health nor vigor impaired by his extensive labors and journeyings.

The next day St. Joseph's College was honored by the presence of the venerable traveler. Through the mediums of music and oratory the faculty and students expressed their joy at having him again in their midst. On the following day, "his reception by the Sisters of Charity and the young ladies of the Academy was equally flattering," says the *Catholic Advocate:*

> At two o'clock attended by the Venerable Father David and several friends both lay and clerical, he sat down to a fine dinner in the public refectory of the institution. The invited guests, with the aged prelate in the center, occupied the head of the table and the young ladies, one hundred and thirty in number, sat immediately in front at three tables extending the whole length of the hall. It was a beautiful and highly interesting spectacle; the agreeableness of which was greatly enhanced by the elegant manners, great modesty and cheerfulness of the young ladies. All seemed entirely happy. Joy lighted up every countenance. It was youth and innocence basking in the sunshine of age and virtue! After dinner the young ladies with their instructresses, assembled in their beautiful and spacious study hall. After the Bishop had taken his seat, some choice pieces of music were performed with great ability by young ladies of the Academy. They had been selected with judgment, and were peculiarly appropriate to the occasion. Addresses were then read by two young ladies, who had at the last public examination of the Institution in July, taken the crown of Superior Literary Merit. They had been prepared by the young ladies for the occasion, and were written in a style at once simple and beautiful. The Bishop responded in his usual happy manner. He expressed great satisfaction in finding the institution in so flourishing a condition. He wished

the young ladies every success and happiness in their laudable pursuit of learning, and exhorted them to the practice of virtue. He bade the Sisters be of good cheer as the prospect before them proved that Heaven was smiling upon their benevolent labors.[6]

New life seemed to be breathed into each congregation at the mention of a prospective visit from the Bishop. With the alacrity born of love was every preparation made for his coming and he left behind a comforting peace, the fruit of the blessing of the Holy Father which he had been deputed to give.

As a pebble thrown on the bosom of a calm lake creates a disturbance which is transmitted in ever-widening circles over the whole surface, so did a proposal made by their beloved Bishop disturb for a while the tranquility and joy of the Nazareth Sisterhood.

The first year Bishop Flaget was in France (1835), the Visitor-General of the Lazarists, the Reverend John Timon, later Bishop of Buffalo, was there also, charged with an important mission from Archbishop Eccleston, namely, to negotiate with the Superior-General of the Lazarists on the matter of affiliating the American Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg with the French Daughters of Charity, founded by St. Vincent de Paul.

This movement had its origin in the action of the Sulpician Superior-General to withdraw the members of his Society from all responsibility except that of professors of seminaries. The regulation obliged the Society to relinquish, therefore, the guardianship of the Sisterhood for whose future welfare this provision was being sought.

Undoubtedly Bishop Flaget was deeply interested in the momentous question, and naturally contemplated its application to his own Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. Shortly after his return, therefore, he approached the Community on the subject. A modification in the dress was suggested; then the withdrawal of an ecclesiastical superior: later an episcopal visitation was made in which each Sister was privately interrogated as to the observance of Rule: the general discipline: the union and happiness of the members, and the advisability of uniting with some other Institute of the Church.

The Sisters could hardly grasp the full purport of the proceedings. They were alarmed, grieved, perplexed: yet, notwithstanding their reverence for every Religious Order in the Church they were unanimous in wishing to remain a distinct body. Mother

Catherine recalled that such had been decreed for them in the infancy of the Community when Bishops David and Dubois had failed in negotiations to effect a union of the two American Sisterhoods and that it was with this understanding that all members had since entered the Nazareth convent.

In a lengthy letter of strong, though respectful remonstrance, they begged the Bishop to reconsider the matter and to allow them to remain as they were. They advanced forcible arguments, based on conditions, from their point of view, of the past and the present. The letter was signed by all the Sisters of the Motherhouse and the local superiors of the separate establishments.[7] The following copy is in the Community archives:

Rt. Rev. B. J. Flaget,

Right Rev. Father:

Since the reception of your letter containing your late orders relative to the changes you required in our Community, we have spent much time in meditation and prayer to God for His light and grace; we have repeatedly offered up novenas, supplicating that His Holy Will be done in regard to our dear Community. And now, most beloved and venerable Father, it is with sentiments of the deepest respect and true filial regard, together with a profound regret, that we have come to the conclusion to lay before you, our Bishop and Father, our humble and earnest entreaty, that we be allowed to continue unchanged in the manner in which we have been established in your diocese by your zealous co-laborer, our revered Father and Founder in Kentucky.

We have entered the house of Nazareth and embraced with our whole hearts the practices, Rules and Constitutions given to us by him, being assured that they were dictated by the Blessed Vincent of Paul, solemnly authorized and approved by yourself and sanctioned at the court of Rome, and we were always left under the firm conviction that they were sacred and never to be liable to any change.

Father David (whom you have so frequently and so warmly recommended to our confidence and reverence, as being one of the greatest divines and the holiest clergymen) has on numerous occasions expressed it to us as his decided opinion that it was much better for both our happiness and spiritual good that we should exist always as he and you thought proper to institute us, a separate and distinct body, and that he felt most grateful to God for so directing and ordaining it. And surely religion in Kentucky can be more extensively and effectually served by us as we now exist.

And here we may be permitted to express our humble thanks to Divine Providence and to your and our revered Founder's protection and instruction, that Nazareth, as you acknowledge with parental joy, has never given any scandal in your diocese, but has constantly labored to do good, the success of which efforts facts attest.

Permit us, too, dear Father, to recall to your paternal recollection, those primitive days of our poor afflicted Community when, with simple-heartedness of devoted children, we zealously and cheerfully spent the energies of our youth in the fields, looms, spinning-rooms, kitchens, at St. Thomas', rejoicing that, by our humble labors in the most servile and lowest occupations, we might contribute our poor mite to the support of the seminaries and churches in your diocese, while at the same time we are struggling in the commencement of our own little Community. Afterwards we labored with the same zeal for the college, seminary and cathedral in Bardstown. And oh, Father, those were happy days, because we looked forward with delight to the rise and progress of the works of religion, believing that we ourselves were settled in the way of life to which we were convinced we were called by our common Father. We never dreamed that a change would be required of us, otherwise, our zeal and energy would have been paralyzed, as they are now.

With due humility and a deep sense of the over-ruling care of Heaven, allow us to call to your mind the numbers of respectable families added to the Church by the education and religious impressions which individuals receive at Nazareth; every year brings with it conversions either in the school or after the young ladies have left our institutions; and you know, far better than we do, the immense weight of prejudice which has been removed by Nazareth's humble efforts, aided by the blessing of God. Add to this the Baptism and the First Communions for which the children are regularly instructed and prepared each year in the Branch Houses and at Nazareth. Many scholars are also educated gratuitously each year in each one of the houses, and alms largely distributed to the neighboring poor. Of these things we do not boast, for it is only our duty; but we merely wish to give your paternal heart consoling proof that Nazareth, as it ever has been, is devoted to the interests of Charity and Religion.

And the Orphan Asylum, which it was your most ardent wish to see established (all who do justice must acknowledge), would not exist at this time, had it not been for the untiring exertions and labors of the Sisters of Nazareth, who moreover aided the good work by pecuniary means drawn from the resources of the Society.

It is true many members have left our Community; but we have every reason to believe and to know that the same occurs, and perhaps more frequently, in other communities where the vows are simple and yearly; and, as you are aware, such defections do sometimes, and not infrequently, take place in Monasteries, where vows are taken for life. We read in the discourses of St. Vincent de Paul, addressed to the first Sisters of Charity that, even during his life-time and in the first fervor of the company, many members left, and after leaving, spoke in the most disparaging terms of the Order. During the last six years only three have gone from among us, and they returned not to the world.

We need not remind you, beloved Father, that we commenced in a new country and not even in the most Catholic settlement of the country; therefore, owing to that cause and perhaps some others, our Community is comparatively small. But we have always been taught to believe that the strength of a religious body depends not so much on its numbers as upon the fervor, zeal and devotedness of those who compose it; and especially upon the blessing of our good God, who seems to delight in effecting good by instruments few and feeble. Still we have five prosperous houses in your diocese, the members of which are happy in their state, and each house is doing a not inconsiderable portion of charity from the resources and labors of the Sisters.

You have already had the unanimous testimony of the Sisters that the Community was never happier, more orderly, more united, or more zealous in the observance of Rules; that all are most desirous of living up to the spirit of their state. For all this, we humbly and thankfully bless God. And although our schools and houses are flourishing and favored by the Almighty with success, yet God forbid we should glory in being the instruments; but we feel, as every Christian heart would feel, an anxious wish to maintain our Society unchanged, as our revered and holy Founder and Father first established it, and as he believed and wished it would, under your paternal care, continue. We are accustomed to our manner of life, and feel thoroughly convinced that we could not find happiness in being connected with or mixed in any other Community or family; and, furthermore, that we might by doing so jeopardize our eternal salvation, for which we have embraced our state of life.

Honored and dear Father, though we do most urgently and humbly implore to be allowed to continue unchanged as we began in the practices, rules and constitutions as given to us by yourself and Father David, yet we beg you to be assured

that it is our most earnest desire, as we know it to be your right, should disorders creep in, that you should administer your fatherly advice and correction. We always have cheerfully and gladly acknowledged you as our first Superior; but we believe that the interest of the Society and our constitutional right require an immediate ecclesiastical superior. We cordially wish and urge frequent visits from you, and that those visits should be of such length as to enable you to be intimately and personally acquainted with the general interests and business of the house, and with each individual in particular. And we candidly assure you that it is and has ever been our fixed determination to persevere in our holy vocation, and to labor sedulously to advance constantly in the virtues required by our state of life.

We attach little importance to the article of dress in itself, yet we think changes so striking as that which you propose in our cap, would be hazardous and calculated to arouse public observation, to elicit surmises and occasion prejudices which may be highly detrimental to Nazareth and perhaps to Religion in Kentucky. Had we worn the black cap for twenty-five years, as we have done the white one, we should feel equally reluctant to so remarkable a change as that of the color; which undoubtedly would subject the Community to animadversion and ridicule, and thus might tend to diminish public respect and confidence, which St. Vincent de Paul considered as most essential to the success of the Sisters' labors.

In terminating, most revered and cherished Father, we throw ourselves on your kind and fatherly forbearance, begging you not to consider us importunate, but to listen with a Father's heart to the humble, earnest and most respectful remonstrance of your children, who feel convinced that these changes may be the laying of the axe to the root of that tree which you and we equally believe to have been planted and watered by the hand of God. Numbers of our Sisters whose deaths have been most holy and edifying, have asserted such to have been their dying belief, and no one who is acquainted with the commencement and progress of Nazareth, can doubt its being the work of the Most High.

In the presence of our good and merciful God, and kneeling before the sacred image of His crucified Son, we hereto affix our names, earnestly imploring you, our dear and revered Father, in the name and for the sake of Him whose place you hold in our regard to yield to our entreaties and once more to restore to your children, that happiness and quiet of mind they have so long enjoyed at Nazareth, promising you, in all the sincerity of our hearts, that we shall with the grace

TOMB OF MOTHER CATHERINE SPALDING IN THE NAZARETH CEMETERY

of God, redouble our efforts to advance in the virtues of our state of life and do good in your diocese.

Happily prayers and entreaties won the day. Bishop Flaget urged the matter no further, though he seemed restless on the subject until the Emmitsburg affiliation with France was accomplished (1849).

When the movement began, Bishop David, worn and feeble, was looking on, and praying for the welfare of his daughters. "Mother Catherine is having her trials," he wrote, "but she will come through." The prediction was verified, for the Society has rounded out a hundred years unaltered in any essential. As a centennial gift, a long-coveted privilege was obtained, when Pope Pius X elevated it to the rank of a religious order. The rule of St. Vincent de Paul has suffered no material change thereby. Such modifications only were made as were consistent with the latest canon law, and these chiefly concern points in government, organization and profession.

For two brief years after Bishop Flaget's return from Rome, the aged prelates dwelt together in the episcopal residence at Bardstown. The beautiful simplicity of their intercourse is somewhat illustrated by the following incident. On opening a box, containing pictures, medals and beads, which the Bishop had received from France, Bishop David asked for some to distribute among his friends. "There you are, Father David, always asking me for something, and you never give me anything!" playfully remarked the prelate, as he dealt him out a generous portion of the pious contents. "But didn't I give you everything when I gave you myself?" promptly rejoined the other. The assertion was beyond dispute; and well did Bishop Flaget know and appreciate what that gift of "myself" meant for him, for all Kentucky, and for the whole Catholic Church in the heart of the American Continent.

CHAPTER XX

Last Illness and Death (1841)

Hardly two years had passed since Bishop Flaget's return from Europe when the two friends, so wonderfully adapted by nature and grace to supplement each other in their God-given work, were forced to part again. This time Bishop David was the one to set out, in order to prepare, as it were, the way for his dear friend and for all bound to him by the wonderful bond of religion whose links grow brighter as they approach their End.

He had, as has been seen, longed for the return of Bishop Flaget from Europe to prepare himself for the journey. His own efforts had been so industriously used that his was a splendid outfit to meet his Master and King, a faithful unwavering life-long service of the highest type. Many disciples attracted by his loving solicitude, and his zealous teaching, and strengthened by his inspiring example had already preceded him, and others would follow as the years waxed into centuries. Who can conceive his fearing death, the enemy whom no man can deny? On the contrary, with his enlightened faith and abiding charity, he must, notwithstatnding his humility, have looked forward with an insatiate yearning for the Master's commendation: "Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." (Matt. xxv, 21).

Suddenly in the middle of April, 1841, his activities were cut off, will and senses deserting for a time their tenement. All seemed over: physicians were immediately called: they pronounced it a stroke of apoplexy whose symptoms had occasionally appeared as his eightieth year approached.

After a few days, he seemed to rally. In falling he had dislocated his left shoulder, and this increased his suffering and helplessness. Frequently his mind wandered, again, he was keenly alive to his condition and communed with God in fervent prayer. Tenderly and lovingly was he cared for by members of the household. The Sisters, his "dear daughters" as he was accustomed to call them, came promptly to his relief. By turns two of them remained with him day and night. When his mind was clear, he expressed the desire of dying at Nazareth among his daughters, and in his wanderings he mingled with ejaculatory

prayers the words, "Nazareth," "my dear daughters," "my home."

Mother Catherine was visiting some distant branch houses and Father Haseltine, too, was absent on business for Nazareth and St. Joseph's College. When she returned and learned the condition of her beloved father, she hastened to his bedside to comfort him, and, if possible, to alleviate his sufferings. She planned at once a means of gratifying his desire to die at Nazareth. She ordered a curtained litter to be constructed in Bardstown. Late the next day ten negroes in black and white uniform, came from Nazareth to convey the saintly invalid to his home. Reverently did they discharge their duty, for they also knew and loved him. He had been a true spiritual father to them and theirs. Beside the litter walked the two Sisters who were the last in attendance on him in Bardstown. Crowds of town people, many of whom were from infancy bound to him by the strongest ties, followed in procession. The cortege was met by Mother Catherine and the Sisters.

The dear sufferer's face lighted with joy, as he strove to lift his feeble hands that he might bless his daughters, who knelt on each side of the road as he was borne in their midst. Gratefully did they hear him repeat: "Oh! My God. I thank Thee that I have come to die among my daughters."

Day and night through the weeks that intervened before the final summons, the Sisters were indefatigable in watching and nursing him. Bishop Flaget administered the last sacraments, his heart torn with grief at losing a life-long co-laborer, a wise and prudent counsellor, a firm and trusty friend, but sorrow is assuaged when faith recalls that "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him" (I Cor. ii, 9), and points to the endless bliss awaiting him who has "fought a good fight," who has valiantly "borne the heat and burden of the day" and has failed not "to lay up treasure in heaven."

In the forenoon of July 12 evidences of approaching death appeared. The classes of the school were dismissed, all other activities were suspended and the Sisters gathered in prayer around their dying father. At 11:30, he attempted to lift his trembling hand for a last benediction, its trembling ceased, and it fell back to rise no more. One feeble sigh and all was over. Never again in this world would that beautiful voice be heard in gentle command, entreaty or warning, never again would its divinely potent accents fall on repentant ears, giving assurance

of Heaven's treasures restored. It had gone to join the celestial choirs, ever to plead before the Throne on High for those struggling with sorrow and temptation. With indefinable emotions the Sisters withdrew. Faith and hope allayed their grief, buoying them up with a revelation, as it were, of the entrancing joys upon which their loved one had entered.

Clothed in the episcopal vestments the body lay in state in the convent church. Here the deep black drapery, the dimly burning candles and the awe-inspiring silence reflected the grief of the mourners, who from all the country round came to get one more glimpse of their venerable father, to pray beside his remains, to touch his hands with their rosaries, or satisfy their devotion according as love, gratitude or reverence inspired. In succeeding groups the grief-stricken Sisters kept constant vigil with unremitting prayer.

On the morning of the third day, three bishops with a large number of clergy intoned the Office of the Dead, then followed the Pontifical Requiem Mass with Bishop Flaget as celebrant. The last blessing of the corpse was given and the funeral procession wended its way with solemn chant to Nazareth's God's Acre, which he had chosen for his last resting place. There next to the Reverend George A. M. Elder,[1] the first priest whom he had ordained and who had died three years before, was laid all that was mortal of the Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David.

An issue of the *Catholic Advocate* gave a sketch of his life, concluding it as follows:

> He received with most edifying sentiments of devotion, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and the Holy Viaticum, and after lingering for nearly three months, calmly expired on the 12th of July in the eighty-first year of his age, the fifty-sixth of his priesthood and the twenty-second after his episcopal consecration, without any earthly possessions to bequeath to any one, but full of days and merit before God and men.
>
> I have given a very imperfect sketch of Bishop David, and offered a poor tribute to his memory. To those who knew him, eulogy is unnecessary. His life was truly a model for the imitation of every Christian, and especially of the clergy.
>
> Who that was acquainted with him, did not admire the perfect system and regularity of his life?, his continued industry, every day, every hour, every moment being usefully spent?, his ardent zeal for the salvation of souls?, the unceasing vigilance, the fear and trembling with which he worked

out his own salvation, and strove to make his election sure? his daily meditation and examen of conscience, the reading of the holy scriptures, never omitted, his entire candor and sincerity? There never was a man more sincere in all he said and did than Father David. There was no worldliness in him, no cringing, nor seeking after popular favor, no manners assumed, nor language used merely to please a vain world. He was truly the priest! the minister of God! always and everywhere the priest! the holy man! We offer prayers for the repose of his soul, but I confidently hope, that for him our supplications are unnecessary, that he is already in heaven, enjoying the reward of his many virtues, and interceding before God for this diocese, which so long enjoyed, and still enjoys, the happy and abundant fruits of his zeal.

The Reverend Martin J. Spalding then engaged on his *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky*, thus concludes his account of Bishop David:

> He was as regular in all his habits, and as punctual to all his exercises and appointments, as he was industrious and indefatigable. Regularity became a second nature with him. And this accounts for the great labors he was able to undergo, and the immense good he was the instrument of effecting. We can in no other way explain how he was able to fulfill so many seemingly incompatible duties, and how he could find time for all his employments.
>
> Gifted in an eminent degree with the spirit of prayer he was always united to God in all his actions. He labored not for men, but for God, not for earth, but for heaven. His ambition aspired to a heavenly crown of unfading glory, he spurned all else.
>
> In one word he was the faithful fellow-laborer of our Bishop, the founder of our Seminary and of the Sisterhood of Charity in Kentucky and the Father and Model of our clergy and people. In their memory and in their hearts is his monument reared, and his epitaph written, in indelible characters, he needs no other.

The same author later in his *Life of Bishop Flaget* quotes from a letter written to France by Bishop Flaget nine days before Bishop David's death: "My ancient Coadjutor has been struggling with death for more than three months, he has received all the sacraments from my hands; his resignation is perfect, and he rejoices to suffer in this world, to have, as he says, less to endure in purgatory. O! how different is the death of the true disciples of Christ from that of the impious!"[2]

And from another letter written by the same on July 12: "God in His mercy wishes that I should prepare for death, for He takes away from me persons who have been so much attached to me for more than sixty years, the good Father Bonnet, my brother, and my old coadjutor who is at this moment struggling between life and death, and who in three or four days will be no longer in this world."[3]

In his *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky,* Webb says:

His seminarians and penitents feared not to approach him, because they were able to fathom the depths of his humility. To their eyes he presented an image of the great Master whose voice sounded in their ears as he spoke: "Learn of me, because I am meek and humble of heart." . . . Others of the old-time missionaries of Kentucky may have labored with as much earnestness as Father David, they may have undergone greater fatigues and encountered greater dangers to person in their constant journeyings, but it is altogether certain that not another left behind him when he died, such enduring titles to the grateful remembrance of the Catholic people of the State. It was not alone that he trained and educated a most efficient body of priests to perpetuate in the State the work of the holy ministry, but he did as much for the gentler sex and for general education through his organization of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth now so well known throughout the country as educators and servitors in hospitals and orphan asylums.[4]

Howlett in *St. Thomas' Seminary* says:

There can be no doubt, however, that the personal sanctity of Father David contributed to the success of his work. He lived the life that produces saints and God blessed his efforts accordingly. His pupils must have realized that they were under the direction of a man of God, for it must have been that holiness was stamped upon his countenance, since a critic, when looking upon a picture of Father David thirty years after his death, could say, "His very likeness betrays the soul of a saint."[5]

That likeness is lighted by a benevolent smile which tells one that he possessed in an eminent degree a quality of which Bossuet says: "When God made man's heart, the noblest sentiment He placed in it was kindness."

In word and deed there always welled from the fatherly heart of Bishop David a kindness which permeated the atmosphere destroying the seeds of discontent and cherishing the blossoms of peace and joy. Though his kindness was tender and sen-

sible, it never degenerated into weakness, but had a strengthening, invigorating effect. He was called a strict disciplinarian. The regularity which governed his own life appealed, no doubt, to those under him, and urged them to respond cheerfully to his every direction, persuaded that whatever he wished was for their welfare and would prove their future good. To all whom he served he was a true father. At a time when custom sanctioned the title of *Mr.* or the *Reverend Mr.* for clergymen, every one instinctively gave him the endearing title of Father. Even after his elevation to the episcopacy he was oftener known as Father than as Bishop David.

Such was his solicitude for all, so deep a place did he hold in their affections, and such confidence did they have in his judgment, that they felt a certain dependence on him, a certain sense of security in what he said or did for them. Neither in temporal nor in spiritual matters did they dispute his authority.

His life from beginning to end was one of faith. It was the delight of his childhood to learn the things of God; the aspirations of his youth were to make God known and loved; a burning zeal in the exercise of the highest form of charity, namely, the salvation of souls, the bringing to God what is justly His by creation and redemption, actuated his maturer years. In every human being he recognized a soul stamped with the image of God and to keep that image clear or, if tarnished, to render it clear again, was the burden of his prayers and labors. There is no record, save in the Book of Life, of the many whom he led into the fold, or the many whose steps he directed to the heights of sanctity.

His own sanctity was the result of a boundless charity, kindled by the faith infused into him in holy baptism on the day of his birth, and which he carefully cultivated and zealously protected throughout life. These virtues were the fertile source of others, in fact, through them, every act of heart and mind was elevated to the supernatural. By the example of the Man-God, he was inspired with a love and esteem of humility and sought every opportunity to acquire it, and make it the safeguard of his spiritual treasury. At the First Diocesan Synod in 1823, because it had been hinted that he failed somewhat in a certain deference due Bishop Flaget, the whole assembly was awed and edified by witnessing him, a Bishop, their teacher and guide, kneeling in their midst and humbly begging pardon.

To be useful to his fellow beings seemed to be the burden of his life. To serve his dear Bishop, to impress upon his seminarians the object of their vocation epitomized in the gospel sentence, "I have chosen you; and have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit

should remain:" to have his spiritual daughters love the hidden life, dread the maxims of the world, devote themselves to the spiritual and temporal good of their neighbor, irrespective of race or creed or country, formed a trinity of responsibilities to which he applied all the powers of his noble heart and mind. How he discharged them the foregoing pages have somewhat revealed, still more have the diocese and the sisterhood which continue to show forth the indomitable zeal, the total self-sacrifice and indisputable sanctity of him who more, perhaps, than any other human being contributed to establish them. Well might one who knew him say: "A truer or more sincerely Christian soul never beat in mortal bosom than that whose pulsations ceased when Bishop David died."[6]

TOMB OF BISHOP DAVID IN THE NAZARETH CEMETERY

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Notes

CHAPTER I

[1]Cf. O'Hagan, *With Staff and Scrip,* p. 25 sq. Toronto, 1924.

[2]"le 4e jour de juin 1761 a été baptise Jean Baptiste-Marie, né ce jour, fils de Jean David, perruguier, et Demoiselle Jeanne Audrain, sa légitime épouse. A été parrain messire Jean Bohnaud, prête, vicaire de la parroise de St. Herbiain, oncle de la mère de l'enfant; et Marraine Demoiselle Jeanne Raguideau, épouse du Sieur Louis Massonet, maitre-chirurgien, parent du père au, 3e degré, soussigne avec le pêre present." *Eglise de Couëron. Transcribed by G. Avenard, curé de Couëron, March 19, 1921.*

"The primary object of the French Oratorians was the same as tnat of the Oratorians founded by St. Philip Neri in Rome (1575) but their organization was different. St. Philip recognized an advantage in preserving the independence of each house. Hence the Englsh Cratorians founded by Cardinal Newman are not dependent on the Society in Rome. As centralization had become a dominant characteristic of the national spirit, Cardinal de Bérulle decided that the French Oratorians should have a central government under a superior-general, with all possibility for strength and expansion. He lived to see fifty flourishing houses. Later their number was doubled and they were divided into four provinces. Although it was not an object of their Institute, the Oratorians from the beginning engaged in scholastic work. Their schools and colleges ranked high in popular favor, and offered curricula in which mathematics and the natural sciences had unusual prominence. Cf. McCormick, *History of Education,* p. 297, Washington, D. C., 1915.

[4]*David to Gely,* St. Joseph's, Bardstown, 1831. Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[5]Barruel, *The History of the Clergy during the French Revolution,* pp. 13; 413, Burlington, 1794.

[6]"Joannes Augustinue de Frétat de Serra, miseratione divina et sanctae sedis apostolicae gratia, episcopus Nannctensis, Regi ab omins consiliis, etc.

"Notum facimus universis quod nos, die datae praesentis, in ecclesia Seminarii nostri, dilecto nobis in Christi Joanni Baptistae Mariae, filio naturali et legitimo Joannis David et Joannae Audrain, conjugum a parochia de Couëron nostrae oriundo, sufficientis aetatis et litteraturae reperto, primam tonsuram clericalam in Do. contulimus, ipsumque clericali insignivimus charactere.

"Datum Nannctis in palatio nostro episcopali sub signo vicarii nostri generali, sigilloque nostro ac secretarii nostri subscriptione die sabbati quatuor temporum post Pentecostis existente XIII mensis Junii 1778."—*Transcribed by S. Legouse, Supérieur de Grand Séminaire de Nantes, May 3, 1921, for the Archives of Nazareth.*

CHAPTER II

[1]Thompson, *The Life of Jean-Jacques Olier,* p. 5 sq., London, 1885.

[2]Spalding, *Life of Bishop Flaget,* p. 29 Louisville, Ky., 1852.

[3]The Scioto Colony demands more than a passing mention. A superficial view catches only the romantic side of it, looks with pity on the hardships and disappointments of a deluded people coming from the heart of civilization into the western wilderness. Among them marquises, counts, barons, knights of high degree, eight hundred families accustomed to the ease and gayety of high French life, and asks is it any wonder that

the project ended in a dismal failure? But the student of history counts the Scioto Colony the most successful that came to America, not locally successful, but one that gave stability to the civil and religious life of the country. He turns on the white light of research, investigates the honesty of the promoter of the scheme, follows step by step each negotiation. He understands the weakness of the Federal Congress and the advantages which England was taken of it by holding, even after the Treaty of Paris, claims to Ohio and all the northwest territory, establishing a fort below Detroit, and keeping alive Indian hatred of the Americans.

That Congress should sell five or six million acres of that territory inspired confidence in the power of the Government, and was a prelude to the decisive victory of Wayne. The colonists being Catholic came provided with priests secular and religious. They even petitioned Rome for a bishop in the person of Fathers Didier or Boisnantier. When at last they disbanded, because their legal right to the land proved to be invalid, they spread out beyond the Mississippi, down through the States to Southern Louisiana, to New England, bringing the impress of their Faith and their culture wherever they settled. Cf. Kenny, Rev. L. J., S.J., *The Gallipolis Colony,* in the *Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. 4, pp. 415, 451

[4]Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States,* p. 14, sq., New York, 1916.

[5]Spalding, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky,* p. 58, Louisville, Ky., 1844.

[6]Bayley, *Life of Bishop Bruté,* p. 27, New York, 1876.

[7]David to Roque, Baltimore, 1792. Copied for the Archives of St. Mary's Seminary.

Spalding, *Sketches;* p. 219.

CHAPTER III

[1]Concerning the coming of the Sulpicians, Bishop Carroll wrote to his flock: "I propose fixing them very near my own home, the Cathedral of Baltimore, that they may be, as it were the clergy of the Church and contribute to the dignity of divine worship. This is a great and auspicious event for our Diocese, but it is a melancholy reflection that we owe so great a blessing to the lamentable catastrophe of France." Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll,* p. 380, New York, 1888.

[2]Spalding, *Flaget,* pp. 30 sq.

[3]Shea, *op. cit.* p. 301.

[4]*Ibid,* pp. 300, 309.

[5]Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 48.

[6]Corrigan, *"A Model Country Parish,"* in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. XXXV, No. 3.

[7]Spalding, *Sketches,* p. 220.

[8]*Ibid,* p. 216.

Clark, *Deceased Bishops,* p. 259.

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[9]David to Spalding, February 13, 1834, Case 36A-F6, Archives of Baltimore.

[10]Guilday, *op. cit.* pp. 471 et. seq.

[11]Garvey, *Mary Aloysia Hardey,* p. 68; New York, 1925.

[14]Shea, *op. cit.,* p. 680.

[15]*Ibid,* p. 591.

Herbermann, *op. cit.,* p. 172.

Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 163.

Philpin de la Rivière, *Vies de Quelque Membres de la compagnie de Saint Sulpice (1813-1882)*, p. 152.
[16]Spalding, *op. cit.* pp. 59, 60.
[17]David to Duclaux, Superior-General, Archives of St. Sulpice, Transscribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*
[18]Spalding, Flaget, pp. 62; 64.
[19]Herbermann, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[20]Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[21]*Ibid*, ft. n. p. 79.
[22]*Ibid*, p. 82.
[23]*Ibid*, p. 86.
[24]*Ibid*, p. 85.

CHAPTER IV

[1]Herbermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 sq.
White, *Life of Mother Seton*, pp. 14, 268, Baltimore, 1856.
[2]Seton, *Memories, Letters and Journal of Elizabeth Seton*, pp. 20 sq., New York, 1870.
[3]*American Catholic Historical Researches*, pp. 17 sq., Vol. 15, 1898.
[4]Herbermann, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
[5]McCann, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, p. 44, Vol. 1, New York, 1917.
[6]Rivière, *op. cit.*, Emery to Carroll, June 29, 1808, p. 5.
[7]McCann, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 sq., Vol. 1.
[8]White, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
[9]*Ibid*, p. 260.
[10]*Ibid*, p. 291.

CHAPTER V

[1]Butler, *History of Kentucky*, p. 5, Louisville, 1834.
[2]Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 13, 14, Louisville, 1884.
[3]This name was given it by "some hunters who were encamped under the shade of the original forest, where it is built, and who, receiving the first intelligence of Lexington battle in Massachusetts, named the town after that where began the great struggle of American independence." Flint, *The Mississippi Valley*, p. 356, Cincinnati, 1833.
[4]Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[5]Webb, *op. cit.* p. 102 N.
[6]"From 1783 to 1790 fifteen hundred persons were killed or made captive by the Indians in Kentucky, or in migrating there." Judge Jones in a letter to Secretary Knox, July 7, 1790. Spalding, *Life of Archbishop Spalding*, p. 16.
[7]Flint, *op. cit.* p. 351.
[8]Spalding, *Sketches*, p. 23.
Webb, *op. cit.* p. 27.
O'Daniel, *op. cit.* pp. 66 sq.
Guilday, *op. cit.* p. 688.
[9]It consisted of two and three fourths acres. On it Father Salmon built St. Joseph's Church in 1799. The Catholics are still using the ground as a cemetery. Howlett, *Records* of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, p. 43, Vol. XXIX, No. 1.
[10]Spalding, *Sketches*, p. 49.
Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 26, 70, 158.
O'Daniel, *op. cit.* p. 72.
[11]The present congregation of Trappists came in 1848 from Melleray in the diocese of Nantes, France. Their monastery of Gethsemani,

Nelson County, is flourishing having about one hundred members under the Abbot Dom Edmond Obrecht. cf. Spalding, *Flaget.*

[12]"The vessel was a brig called the George Dyer, under command of Captain Peter Collard. There were several French and American gentlemen on it. Among the latter, were a Dr. Johnson, bearer of dispatches from General Armstrong, at that time our minister in Paris, *a poet,* an Ursuline nun, five Trappists, the Père Mauvais and four Brothers, one Jesuit, Father Cary: Mr. Flaget: a relative of his, Mr. Grass: Romant, Derigaud, Deidier, Chabrat, Bruté." Bayley, *Memoirs,* etc., p. 48, ft. n.

August 10, 1810, is the date given by Bishop Bruté in his autobiographical sketch, *Georgetown Archives;* Rivière, *op. cit.* p. 116.

[13]Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 102.

[14]Shea, *op. cit.* pp. 627, 628.

[15]Herbermann, *op. cit.* p. 146.

[16]Shea, *op. cit.* p. 630.

[17]*Ibid., op. cit.* p. 632.

[18]Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 65.

[19]Rivière, *op. cit.* p. 72.

David to Duclaux: Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, France. Some give May 11 as the day of departure, but Father David's assertion must be correct.

[20]O'Daniel, *op. cit.* p. 174.

[21]Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, France. Transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[22]Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 70.

[23]*Ibid.,* op. cit. p. 72.

CHAPTER VI

[1]"Were I to act only as a Bishop, and visit one congregation after another, conferring the Sacrament of Confirmation on those who have not received it, and taking particular information of the prevailing vices in each congregation, I believe that with the help of God and the assistance of my venerable Brother, I would go on middling well; but being obliged to act as a curé, run often, and often night and day, after the sick who are numerous this year, hear confessions almost every day four or five hours, keep church every Sunday, receive the visits of many curious beings who have no other object in coming but to see the Bishop, I assure you, dear Father, it will be difficult."—*Flaget to Carroll, August 22,* 1811. *Archives of Baltimore 8A-K2.*

[2]Among the entries in his diary on Saturday, January 11, 1812, Bishop Flaget has *a conversation with M. David on the convent. Records* of the American Catholic Society of Philadelphia. p. 40, Vol. XXIX, No. 1.

[3]Webb, *op. cit.* p. 68 n.

[4]David to Duclaux, September 14, 1814, Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris. Transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[5]"He discontinued his studies for lack of talent; but he remained at St. Thomas' where his services as carpenter were in constant requisition." —*David to Superior-General Duclaux, September* 14, 1814.

[6]Spalding to Purcell, August 31, 1862. Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[7]David to Superior-General Duclaux, September 14, 1814. Transcribed from the Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris.

[8]The writer has inferred that Mr. John Rogers, who in 1815 came from Baltimore bringing with him the plans for the Cathedral of Bardstown, was employed as architect for the buildings on St. Thomas' farm. The late Charles A. Rogers, bookseller and publisher, Louisville, was a son of the architect Webb, *op. cit.* p. 269.

[9]David to Duclaux, September 14, 1814. Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris. Transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[10]Annales 1824.

[11]Tessier to Chabrat: November 11, 1811. Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[12]Flaget to Carroll: January 1, 1812, Archives of Baltimore 8 A-K 3. The date of his ordination has been confounded by some with that of his first Mass, Cf. Spalding, *Flaget* p. 98.

[13]David to Duclaux: September 14, 1814. Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris. Transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[14]Howlett, *op. cit.* p. 38.

[15]The following list is given by Webb, *op. cit.* p. 348:

Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat	Rev. Walter S. Coomes
Rev. Peter Schaeffer	Rev. William E. Clark
Rev. M. Derigaud	Rev. Charles Carter
Rev. Anthony Ganihl	Rev. Charles I. Coomes
Rev. M. Champonnier	Rev. John C. Wathen
Rev. David A. Deparcq	Rev. James Elliott
Rev. Philip Horstman	Rev. L. Picot
Rev. Robert A. Abell	Rev. A. Degauquier
Rev. Vincent Badin	Rev. Francis Chambige
Rev. George A. M. Elder	Rev. William Whelan
Rev. William Byrne	Rev. Martin J. Spalding
Rev. Ignatius A. Reynolds	Rev. John McGill
Rev. Joseph Rogers	Rev. William E. Powell
Rev. Linus Coomes	Rev. James M. Lancaster
Rev. Elisha J. Durbin	Rev. B. J. Spalding
Rev. Robert Byrne	Rev. Charles Blank
Rev. Simon Lalumiére	Rev. John B. Hutchins
Rev. Athanasius A. Aud	Rev. J. A. Drew
Rev. Charles Cecil	Rev. Alfred Hagan
Rev. Edward A. Clark	Rev. Edward McMahon
Rev. George Hayden	Rev. James Quinn
Rev. Joseph Haseltine	Rev. Stephen Ward
Rev. David Mulholland	Rev. John Joyce

Rev. Abram McMahon

CHAPTER VII

[1]David to Duclaux, September, 1816. The Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[2]David to Duclaux, March, 1816. Transcribed from the Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[3]Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 167

[4]David to Duclaux, March, 1816. Transcribed from the Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[5]Spalding, *op. cit.* p. 165.

[6]David to Duclaux, September 15, 1816. Transcribed from Archives of St. Sulpice for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[7]*Life of Felix De Andreis, C. M.* pp. 137 sq.

[8]*Ibid,* p. 142.

[9]Flaget to Plessis, Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec. *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. XVIII, p. 27.

CHAPTER VIII

[1]Community Annals.

[2]The attention of the writer was drawn to the last made grave on entering the cemetery of Bryantown, Maryland, in the spring of 1921.

It was that of Dr. Carrico, a physician whose death was deeply and universally deplored. His sister, Sister Mary Agnes of the Emmitsburg Sisters of Charity, is satisfied that theirs is a branch of the family of our Teresa. The same is true of the family of the Reverend Dr. Carrico of Notre Dame University, Indiana, and of that of the late Judge Carrico, of Owensboro, Ky.

[3]Webb, *op. cit.* p. 245 ft. n. McGill, *Sisters of Charity of Nazareth,* New York, p. 19, Community Annals.

[4]Bishop Flaget was on the first of his long journeys. At a meeting of the Bishops in 1810 it was decided to hold a Provincial Council in Baltimore, November, 1812. Although Archbishop Carroll had for various reasons, among these, the War of 1812, and the imprisonment of Pope Pius VII, decided to postpone the Council, Bishop Flaget had set out for Baltimore before news of the postponement had reached Kentucky. He left September 8 and, accompanied by Father Badin, visited his flock scattered on the long road from St. Stephen's in Kentucky to the Alleghanies.—*Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, p. 232, Vol. XXIX. Guilday, *op. cit., p.* 694.

[5]Spalding, *Life of Archbishop Spalding,* New York, 1873, p. 11.

[6]Webb, *op. cit.* p. 125.

[7]*Records* of American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, vol. XXIX, p. 232, No. 3, Howlett's translation (Saturday, September 12th).

[8]Community Annals.

[9]Webb, *op. cit.* p. 246 n.

[10]David to Duclaux, September, 1814. Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[11]The word portage is a Canadianism, signifying the bearing of the bark canoes and their cargo across a portion of land, so as to avoid a rapid, especially when traveling up a river. By extension the name was applied to the land intervening between the two points of a river's course. *Records* of American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, p. 40.

[12]David to Carroll, Archives of Baltimore, 8 A-F 1.

[13]Carroll to David, Archives of Baltimore. This reply is on the back of the letter quoted above in the Archives of Baltimore.

[14]This correspondence is in the Archives of Baltimore.

[15]It is an error to classify the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in the summary, p. 117, McCann, *op. cit.* Vol. II.

[16]These changes concerned the points mentioned in the letters quoted above, and, probably, provisions were made for Mother Seton personally

CHAPTER IX

[1]Cheverus to Carroll, Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[2]Guilday, *op. cit.* pp. 677, 678.

[3]*Ibid:* op. cit. p. 677.

[4]The Very Reverend Louis DeBarth, V.G., of Philadelphia, was the son of Count Joseph de Barth, Baron of Walbach, a member of the Scioto Colony, who on its dispersion settled in New Hampshire. A second son of Count de Barth, General Walbach, rendered valuable service to the American cause in the War of 1812.

[5]David to Carroll, Archives of Baltimore, $3A^2$.

[6]David to Duclaux, September 15, 1816. Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[7]Flaget to Duclaux, June 23, 1814. Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*

[8]Flaget to Plessis, Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, Vol. XVIII.

[9]David to Duclaux, Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris, transcribed for the *Archives of Nazareth.*
[10]The *Record,* Louisville, Ky., July 20, 1916.
[11]Howlett, *St. Thomas' Seminary,* p. 67.

CHAPTER X

[1]David to Maréchal, Archives of Baltimore, 15 F5.
[2]*Ibid:* op. cit.
[3]*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.* Vol. II, p. 24, 1826.
[4]Spalding, *Flaget* p. 214.
[5]Flaget to Maréchal, June, 1827. Archives of Baltimore, 16 V 20.
[6]Benton, *Debates in Congress,* Vol. 7.
The occasion that brought forth this encomium was one in which Representative Charles Wycliffe was defending the character of Bishop Flaget. *America,* October 7, 1922, pp. 588-599.
[7]*Op. cit.* p. 124.

CHAPTER XI

[1]Community Annals.
[2]Webb, *op. cit.* p. 255.
[3]Community Annals.
[4]*Ibid.*
[5]O'Shea, The Two Kenricks, p. 40, Philadelphia, 1904.
[6]David to Spalding, June 16, 1832, Archives of Baltimore, 36 A-F 4.
[7]*Ibid.*
[8]Op. cit. pp. 696 et 697 ft. n.
[9]Abbreviations and archaisms have been changed in this letter and in some following ones.
[10]Chabrat to Flaget, *Archives of Nazareth.*
[11]*Sketches* p. 129.
[12]Community Annals.
[13]David to Fenwick, November 19, 1826. Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.
[14]Flaget to Chabrat, Gethsemani (Ky.) 26 October, 1820. Archives of Loretto.
[15]Spalding, *op. cit.* p. 92.
[16]*Ibid.,* op. cit. p. 239.
[17]Webb,*op. cit.* p. 88.
[18]Flaget to Chabrat, Bardstown, March 19, 1823. Archives of Loretto.
[19]*Ibid.,* April 23, 1823. Archives of Loretto.
[20]Community Annals.

CHAPTER XII

[1]Spalding, *Sketches,* p. 65.
[2]Spalding, *op. cit.* p. 92.
[3]Spalding, *Sketches,* p. 254.
[4]David to Maréchal, January 21, 1823, Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.
[5]O'Shea, *op. cit.* p. 94.
[6]This was the first Jubilee celebrated by the Catholics west of the Alleghanies. It was given because of the close of the first quarter of the century, and the accession of Pope Leo XII to the throne of Peter.
[7]O'Daniel, *op. cit.* p. 241.
[8]David to Maréchal, Archives of Baltimore.
[9]Community Annals.
[10]Appendix, p. 1.
[11]Spalding, *op. cit.* p. 92.
[12]*Ibid., op. cit.* p. 167.
[13]Spalding to Flaget, Archives of Baltimore, 39BT4.
[14]Spalding, *op. cit.* p. 220.

CHAPTER XIII

[1]David to Fenwick, Bardstown, November 19, 1826, Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[2]Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 308.

[3]*Ibid., op. cit.* p. 261.

Souvay, *Catholic Hist. Review,* Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 182 sq.

[4]Spalding, *op. cit.* 6. 262.

[5]David to Whitfield, Archives of Baltimore 23M.5. It would seem from the following that Bishop David was to represent New York at the Council:

"Baltimore, September 30 . . .

"We are at a loss to account for the sudden and unexpected departure of the Bishop of New York for Europe, at the very moment when he was expected to attend at the Council. Probably the Bishops are more cognizant of the cause than we are, but I can give you no surmise upon the subject. It is even said that the Diocese cannot be represented, for he gave his procuration to Bishop David whose state of health does not permit his attendance; and as delegates cannot sub-delegate, no other person can take his place."—The *Jesuit,* October 24, 1828, copied from *U. S. Catholic Miscellany* in an article captioned "Provincial Council." Loretto Archives.

[6]Spalding, *Flaget,* p. 266.

[7]Community Annals.

[8]Kenrick to Crosier, Appendix.

CHAPTER XIV

[1]Colonel Clark was indebted for his rapid success to the missioner, Father Gibault. When the priest assured his flock that the French king was aiding the American cause against the English they quickly transferred their allegiance, and influenced the Indians to refrain from attacking the settlers. Later Father Gibault received the public thanks of Virginia. Smith, *History of Kentucky* pp. 110 sq.

[2]The citizen-appointed trustees ruled from 1779-1780: those appointed by the Legislature of Virginia from 1780-1792: those appointed by the Legislature of Kentucky from 1792-1829. *Memorial History of Louisville,* Vol. 1, p. 60.

[3]*Ibid.,* op. cit. p. 129.

[4]This was the second newspaper published west of the Alleghanies, the *Pittsburg Gazette* preceded it by a short time. *Ibid. op. cit.* p. 83. In the commercial line, too, Lexington was active, seeking an outlet for abundant produce. Thence was built the first railroad of the West, the Short Line of twenty-seven miles between Frankfort and Lexington. *Ibid., op. cit.* p. 95.

[5]*Ibid., op. cit.* p. 234.

[6]*Ibid., op. cit.* p. 76.

[7]Spalding, J. L., *op. cit.* p. 64.

[8]Community Annals.

[9]St. Vincent's Orphanage has become a purely diocesan institution, but the Sisters continue to serve its inmates.

[10]Archives of Nazareth.

[11]Bishop M. J. Spalding communicated the news of her illness to Archbishop Purcell: "Mother Catherine is very ill at the Orphan Asylum, Louisville. This morning she was thought to be dying and the chances are ten to one against her living. She is about 63 years old and her attack is bronchitis contracted by getting her feet wet in visiting a poor family." "P.S.—Friday evening at 7 o'clock. Mother still very ill and dangerously so, but perhaps a little better—some hope—Pray for her."

And on March 29, 1858, he wrote: "Mother Catherine died piously in the midst of her dear orphans on the night of the 20th inst. a little before midnight. She was solemnly interred at Nazareth on Monday 22nd. The Sisters and pupils walked in procession to meet the body to a distance of half a mile from the Academy. I performed the service and preached, being at the time at Nazareth. A lengthy biographical sketch of her will appear in an early number of the *Guardian*."—Spalding to Purcell, Archives of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

[12]Sister Teresa Carrico died in the odor of sanctity a month after Mother Catherine. Among the manifestations made by Heaven of her holiness, community traditions say that her body after death emitted a delightful perfume, which adhered for days to the room in which she died and to the garments which she had worn.

CHAPTER XV

[1]Community Annals.

[2]*Memorial:* p. 75.

[3]Spalding, *Flaget* p. 276.

[4]A Community of Brothers had been founded by Bishop Flaget in 1826. They were located on St. Thomas' grounds and had for a spiritual director the Reverend Father Derigaud. The Bishop intended the Society to be on the plan of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine in France. In 1827, they, eight in number, removed to Casey County where they built a monastery known as Mount Casino. They took vows for three years. Soon after their removal Father Derigaud died and a Brother Guardian was elected superior, but for the want of an efficient priest to direct them the brotherhood disbanded.

[4]Community Annals.

[5]Judge Rowan's home, Federal Hill, is commonly known as "My Old Kentucky Home," from the fact that the song, so entitled, was composed there by Stephen Collins Foster (1826-1864).

[6]David to Elizabeth, Archives of Nazareth.

[7]Community Annals.

[8]Even at so early a date this subject found a place in the curriculum. The Sisters received instructions in it from a New England artist who took up his residence in Bardstown. He was Mr. H. V. Brown, a non-Catholic, with all the prejudices then so common against the Church. Gradually these were removed. The light of faith was granted him and he was baptized in the convent chapel of the Dominicans, St. Catherine's, Springfield, Kentucky. He had also been professionally employed at St. Catherine's and was, therefore, indebted to both Sisterhoods for his first correct knowledge of the Catholic Church. Sister Emily Elder was his godmother. He became a priest, and died pastor of Chattanooga in 1874. Cf. Community Annals. Webb: *op. cit.* p. 264.

[9]Spalding, *Flaget* p. 278 et seq.

[10]Flaget to Kenrick, Archives of Baltimore 32 A-B6.

[11]Bishop David to Sister Mary Magdalen Neale: Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[12]David to Sister Elizabeth, *Archives of Nazareth*, Jan. 7, 1833.

[13]David to Spalding, June 18, 1833, Archives of Baltimore 36A, F6.

[14]David to Spalding, Bardstown, 2 December, 1833, Archives of Baltimore 36A, F5.

CHAPTER XVI

[1]Flaget to Kenrick, Archives of Baltimore, 32 A-B 6.

[2]David to Spalding, St. Joseph's Seminary, Bardstown, 2 December, 1833. Archives of Baltimore, 36 A-F 5.

[3]These were the Reverend Fathers Chazelle, Ladavière, Petit, and Maguire. They came from Lyons, France, and after spending a year on the mission, while certain negotiations were pending, they took charge of St. Mary's College, Marion County, where they also opened a novitiate. They remained until 1846 when they were transferred by their superiors to St. John's College, Fordham, New York.

[4]Flaget to Kenrick, Archives of Baltimore, 32 A-B 6.

[5]Archives of Nazareth, 1834.

[6]David to Spalding, Archives of Baltimore, 36 A-F 5.

[7]David to Timon, Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[8]David to Mother Josephine, Archives of Loretto.

[9]David to Spalding, Archives of Baltimore, 36 A-F 5.

[10]Archives of Nazareth, 1834.

[11]McGill, *op. cit.* 130, 165 sq.

Spalding, J. L., *op. cit. pp.* 247 sq.

CHAPTER XVII

[1]*Memorial* p. 308.

[2]He was Bishop Flaget's close friend also, one whom he desired for coadjutor, as the following from the Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana, shows:

"Louisville, May 16, 1848.

Rt. Rev. and dear Sir:

Your favor of the 11th inst. reached me this moment. You know that Father McElroy was my first choice and was also placed on the list of names sent to Rome. Should you think that his age would not interfere with the discharge of the important duties he would have to discharge as coadjutor, I should always prefer him. But as you are best acquainted with this whole affair, I will leave all to yourself and my good friend Bp. Kenrick. Should you, however, in your wise determination, consider the above named in any way incapable, either from age or infirmity, you will then ask for Dr. Spalding.

✠B. J. Bp. of Louisville.

To Most Rev. Eccleston, D.D."

[3]Father Barber has a most remarkable and interesting history. The Reverend Virgil Horace Barber (1782-1847) was an Episcopal minister in charge of a parish, and principal of a flourishing academy at Fairfield, near Utica, New York. He and his wife were pious and prayerful. Troubled by doubts, he sought enlightenment from Father Fenwick, S.J., and was received into the Church in New York City (1817). His wife accompanied him in his doubts, his convictions, his conversion. Conscious that her husband would be happier if he could follow the ministry in the Catholic Church, she revealed to Father Fenwick her willingness to relieve him from the marriage contract, if each could enter a Religious Order and their children be provided for. Admiring her heroism and being in a position to arrange for its accomplishment, Father Fenwick secured admission into the Society of Jesus for Mr. Barber and into the Visitation Convent for Mrs. Barber, the marriage contract being solemnly and publicly annulled in the College Chapel. Their three girls became pupils in the Visitation Academy, and the two younger children were affectionately cared for by Mrs. Fenwick, Father Fenwick's mother, until the boy, Samuel, became old enough to enter Georgetown College as a student, and the girl, Josephine, the Visitation Academy. For many years Mrs. Barber, as Sister Mary Augustine, held the office of Directress of Studies in the Visitation Academy, Georgetown, D. C. Their three older girls became Religious of the Ursuline Order and their youngest of the Visitation. The last had the privilege of attending her mother's deathbed in

the convent, Mobile, Alabama, January 1, 1860. Samuel, after graduating, entered the Jesuit novitiate and later labored with his father on the missions of New England, where they wrought many conversions to the Faith. Cf. M. S. Pine, *A Glory of Maryland,* Archives of Nazareth.

[4]Archives of Nazareth.

[5]David to Spalding, February 13, 1834, Archives of Baltimore.

[6]*Ibid.,* op. cit.

[7]*Ibid.,* op. cit.

[8]*Ibid.,* op. cit.

[9]Flaget to Kenrick, Archives of Baltimore, 32 A-B 7.

[10]David to Sister Elizabeth, *Archives of Nazareth.*

[11]Flaget and David to Purcell, Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

CHAPTER XVIII

[1]David to Purcell, Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[2]Archives of Loretto.

[3]Archives of Nazareth.

[4]O'Shea, *op. cit.* p. 95

[5]Rosati to Timon, St. Louis, Mo., 27 Nov. 1839, Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

CHAPTER XIX

[1]David to Purcell, April, 1834—Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[2]David to Spalding, St. Joseph's Seminary, February 13th, 1834, Archives of Baltimore.

[3]Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 320 sq.

[4]Spalding, *op. cit.* pp. 309 sq.

[5]David to Elizabeth, Archives of Nazareth, September 17, 1838.

[6]Vol. IV, No. 37, October 19, 1839.

[7]McGill, *op. cit.*

[8]Spalding, *Flaget* p. 331.

CHAPTER XX

[1]Appendix No. III.

[2]p. 332.

[3]p. 333.

[4]p. 351.

[5]p. 55.

[6]Spalding, *Flaget* p. 332.

Appendix

I

St. Thomas's Seminary,
March 26, 1818.

My Lord and venerable colleague,

I return you my sincere thanks for the wise counsel which you so graciously gave me. It has caused all plausible reasons to disappear . . . On his return at Mid-Lent, Mgr. Flaget expressed the same opinion as you. He wishes my letter to the Cardinal to be sent as soon as possible.

The installation of Mgr. Du Bourg was made in a manner most satisfactory to him and to his people. We learn from the letters of Mr. de Andreis and from the accounts of several others who come from that section that he has won the confidence and the affection of all the people of St. Louis and that the extraordinary conversion of a woman married to a second husband while the first was still living has brought him the veneration of even the incredulous. Mr. Jules de Mun who must now be in Baltimore can give you the interesting details. Our Cathedral is advancing and we have every hope of being in it next Christmas. We shall build our Seminary next summer. Kindly do not forget me in your prayers and especially at the Holy Altar. I am with very deep respect, *My Lord and venerable colleague,*

Your very humble and very obedient servant,
J. David.

Kindly assure Mr. E. Fenwick also of my remembrance and my friendship.

II

Bardstown, Ky., April 4.

The Most Rev. Dr. Amb. Maréchal,
Archbishop of Baltimore,
Maryland.
Archives of Baltimore, 15*F*6.
Translation
Originali. Vol. 929

"Your Eminence the Prefect:

About six months ago, the most illustrious Bishop of New Orleans, the Right Reverend Louis William Du Bourg, in accordance with a custom which has existed among us from the beginning, wrote to us of a plan he had in mind, namely, to petition for a division of his diocese into three parts; one was to embrace the province of Alabama and Florida, the other two, that of Upper and Lower Louisiana; and

he proposed for the first see the Reverend Enoch Fenwick, a Maryland priest of the Society of Jesus, who is now president of the Georgetown College in the said province; for the other (part) either of the following two, the Reverend Simon Bruté, a member of Saint Sulpice, now a professor of Sacred Theology in the Seminary of Emmitsburg, Maryland, or the Reverend Joseph Rosati, Vicar General of the Congregation of the Missions in Louisiana and President of the Seminary. Our Venerable Brother's intention and desire in this communication was to learn clearly our opinion of the matter and, if it accorded with his, to have us make it known to the Sacred Congregation.

At first the idea seemed to us a wise one and we have letters which we wrote to the Sacred Congregation, supporting it, but before sending them we resolved to submit the proposition to a new investigation. In consideration of our duty to religion and of our tender friendship for Our Brother of New Orleans, we, having duly weighed the circumstances, determine to lay open to Your Eminence our mind on this whole affair.

We, indeed, most heartily approve and recommend to the Sacred Congregation whatever pertains to the erection of a new see in the city of Mobile for the province of Alabama and Florida combined, and likewise the nomination to it of the Reverend Enoch Fenwick.

As to the other propositions, we began by examining two features, first, whether the present time is favorable for a division, second, which of the two priests mentioned for the new see is the more suitable. We indeed acknowledge that it has always been our opinion that one bishop, especially one of advanced age and broken health as is the Right Reverend Du Bourg, is unequal to the administration of so vast a diocese, and, hence, we recently advised him to insist upon a division. His deciding this matter was, therefore, most gratifying to us, and the more so when we were informed that the same is favorably regarded by the Sacred Congregation. But after our dearly Beloved Brother had reached this conclusion, he reconsidered the affair and wrote to us a second time, retracting what he had already decided upon and setting forth very weighty reasons why the erection of an episcopal see in the city of St. Louis should be deferred. The matter of special importance on which he based his change of plans is the extreme poverty of the Catholics of Upper Louisiana where it happens that missionaries and a seminary for priests can at present be supported only by the alms which they receive from the priests of Lower Louisiana. Nay, indeed, the Bishop himself is maintained by the nuns of New Orleans. And he also shows that certain property in the vicinity of St. Louis intended for episcopal sustenance has so far yielded little or almost no revenue. Moreover, he fears that several priests of Upper Louisiana who are disaffected towards him would immediately after the division, follow him into Lower Louisiana, so that whatever should be accomplished by conciliatory measures would in a brief time be destroyed. So deeply dis-

turbed is our Venerable Brother by these thoughts that all peace of mind has abandoned him. Moreover, we, to whom the condition of those regions is known, can but confirm his fears. Nothing, indeed, but an earnest love for religion could make him so adverse to this division. From Upper Louisiana he receives only an increase of labor and responsibility to which any one else would hardly submit. Hence we judge that the establishment of a new see in St. Louis is premature; and we feel sure, if God spares the Bishop of New Orleans a few more years that he will by his industry succeed in adjusting circumstances to the desired end. If he had a coadjutor, he could, meanwhile, provide for the spiritual needs of his diocese. With due respect to the Sacred Congregation, we suggest that such assistance be furnished him as early as possible, lest overwhelmed by his weighty responsibility he succumb. His ruin would mean the ruin of the whole diocese. It remains for us to express our opinion in regard to the merits of the two candidates proposed for the office of coadjutor. The Reverend Simon Bruté, is, indeed, exceedingly dear to us, not only because he is a member of our Society [St. Sulpice], but chiefly because of his eminent learning and piety; however, he lacks prudence, the first quality of a bishop, most necessary in any part of differ from our Venerable Brother to whom we have lately signified our judgment and who, we trust, will agree with us. It is, indeed, quite otherwise in regard to the Reverend Doctor Rosati whom we deem the possessor of every requirement, for in him are united learning, piety, discretion and a most charming affability by which he wins all hearts. We know, however, that the Bishop of New Orleans fears, in the event of Doctor Rosati's elevation to the episcopacy, that there will be no one to govern the Congregation of the Missions in his diocese, a thing which, indeed, would be a great misfortune, since all hope for his diocese would be centered in that Venerable Congregation should any catastrophe occur. But why may not Doctor Rosati, although bishop, preside over his Congregation for some years, at least until another is chosen superior? These particulars, we judge, may be easily arranged between the Sacred Congregation and the Superior-General.

Recommending these affairs to the authority and good-will of Your Eminence, and praying that the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation may long preside over its councils, we kissing your sacred vestments, humbly acknowledge ourselves most devoted and obedient servants of Your Eminence,

✠Benedict Joseph, Bishop of Bardstown,
✠John Baptist Mary, Bishop of Mauricastro,
Coadjutor of Bardstown,

Bardstown, October 28, 1822. R. 8 Martii 1823,

Vatican Archives—Gift of the Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M., to the Nazareth Archives.

III

Nazareth 2 November 1832.

Very Rev. and dear Sir:

Mr. Van Bockel, in a visit he paid me yesterday, entreated me to write to you in his behalf. He has left in Cincinnati several boxes or trunks containing church vestments, albs, books, etc., which he wishes to be sent to him to Bardstown. He has written several letters to the same purpose, and sent money to pay the freight. He seems much concerned and afflicted that, not only those articles have not been sent, but he has not received any answers to his letters. Your Reverence would do an act of charity to inquire about those objects and procure their being sent forward. They are deposited with a Monsieur Fripond, if I read well the name.

I will avail myself of this opportunity to condole with you on the loss of your worthy and amiable Bishop. It is a great loss indeed for your extensive Diocese. I am in a great apprehension of the same misfortune for ourselves, since our good Bishop has thought proper to go to meet the cholera in Louisville. Such losses are irreparable. I am far from being prepared to take his place. My advanced age and increasing infirmities render me quite unfit and incapable of doing much service. I have said several Masses for your good Prelate. As soon as Bp. Flaget returns we shall sing a High Mass for him.

Be so good as to present my respectful compliments to Rev. Mr. Mullan, and to tell him that the three postulants he has sent us of late, do very well and give, so far, great satisfaction. If he has some more of the same good qualities, they will be welcome. We sent four of our Sisters to wait on the cholera sick; we would be glad of a good recruit.

Earnestly recommending myself to your prayers and holy sacrifices, I remain with much respect

Your most obedient Servant,
✠John B. M. Bp. of Mauricastro.

Archives of Notre Dame, Ind.
Gift of Bishop Borgess to Notre Dame.

IV

Bardstown, January 21, 1823.

Monsignor and dear Brother,

Let me offer you my humble congratulations on your fortunate return from the long and difficult journey which you undertook for the welfare of the Churches in the United States and on the happy success that accompanied it.

Rescripts have come from Rome: the cause is ended: would that errors were put an end to.

I was grieved to learn that the injury to your leg has kept you confined to the bed; however, I hear with joy to-day that you have been cured since you officiated pontifically on Christmas day. May heaven preserve for a long time a life so precious to our Church! I am taking

the liberty of offering you two little articles which circumstances forced me to prepare for the defense of the Catholic Faith. The first is in the hands of the Reverend Mr. Tessier, who will be able to give an account of it to your Lordship. The minister replied and has not failed to use the opportunity for equivocation. I am working at present on a rejoinder which I shall take the liberty also of sending you. I know well that such writings demand both a better head and a better pen but we are too few here. Obedience obliged me to appear on the scene where I tried to do my best. Mgr. Flaget has had a heavy cold, accompanied by sore throat which made us fear for his life. Thank God, he is much better. He is at the house of Mr. Chabrat, ten miles from here. They gave him all the care that his alarming condition demanded. I hope to see him next week. Permit me to recommend myself to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices and to assure you anew of my deep respect and of the sincere affection with which I am,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

✠John B. M. Bishop of Mauricastro.

Arch. Maréchal
Archives of Baltimore.

V

Bardstown 13 December 1837.

Sir and Very Dear Brother,

You must think that I have grown indifferent about writing to my brethren, since I have lately shown no sign of life, not even in regard to you. I do indeed feel less inclined to write for two reasons: first because I cannot endure long application of mind without headache ensuing, and second because words and phrases come slowly, necessitating the frequent use of a dictionary. I do not give this explanation by way of excuse but rather by way of accusing myself of a carelessness which I could and should correct.

You have not of late sent the names of any of the deceased members of our Society. Is it because none have died, or have they been forgotten?

His Lordship, our dear Bishop will defer his return until the spring. This is in consequence of the order of the Holy Father who has commissioned him to visit several dioceses of France to encourage the work of the Propagation of the Faith. I have nothing to say to this, but these delays are painful to me; I cannot close my accounts for the great journey without him.

Mr. L'homme has not written for a long while. I believe it is he who is at fault. My second manuscript should have been printed. I promised Mr. Lucas to take (fifty) 50 copies, and Mgr. Chabrat as many and I have ordered fifty of the little booklet on the devotion to the angels. If this good man should prefer to send them to the address of Mr. McManus of Bardstown with the account of what we owe him, it will be easy for us to pay through the same. I have nearly finished

the translation of the Meditations *Medaille*. I shall entrust my manuscript to Mgr. Chabrat under whose direction I undertook it; he may do with it what he wishes.

We have received tidings, indirectly of Mgr. Flaget through M. Deparq, a priest of Angers, and a Swiss subdeacon sent by him who arrived lately with M. Benedict Spalding. The subdeacon has gone to the seminary; the priest remains here to learn English. I have not yet seen M. Spalding who has gone to visit his relations. Our seminary is going on well and promises a certain number of good subjects.

Mgr. Chabrat has consecrated a beautiful church in Lexington, built by the care of M. McMahon who is pastor there. He has consecrated another also, a beautiful brick one in Lebanon, a little town in *Marion County*. Several others are under construction in different places. Our college has been repaired at least on the outside. The interior is progressing, but the painting is put off until the spring. There are seventy or eighty boarders and forty externs. The teaching and discipline are weak yet, but we hope that Providence will give us the means for improving both. Nazareth has one hundred and twelve boarders, Loretto more than sixty. The school of the Sisters of St. Dominic is doing well. I do not know the number.

We have lately enjoyed a visit from M. Hughes, also from the Bishop of Cincinnati. May we hope for one from you at least when Mgr. Flaget returns; Mgr. Chabrat and I intend to go to Louisville to meet him when we learn the time of his arrival. What a pleasure should we find you accompanying him!

I do not remember whether I told M. L'homme to put in the ordo for 1838 the office for the octave of our cathedral, as he did last year. I do hope he has not omitted doing so. M. Haseltine has written to M. Lucas for the ordos.

I have heard nothing of the ecclesiastical ruling which was decreed by the last council. When will it be promulgated?

Adieu, very dear Brother. Please remember me in your prayers and Holy Sacrifices and recommend me to our dear confrères to whom I beg you to offer for me tender and respectful good wishes.—Be assured that you are not forgotten by your old, but always devoted confrère.

✠John B. M., Bishop of Mauricastro.

To M. Deloul,
Superior of St. Mary's Seminary,
Baltimore.
Archives of St. Sulpice, Paris.
Transcribed for the Archives of Nazareth.

VI

Bardstown, June 10, 1838.

Monsignor and very dear Brother,

I received in due time your letter of the 20th of May. I am greatly distressed to hear of Mr. Hayden's refusal especially after the solicita-

tions of Rome. I recognize the importance of the choice with which you are entrusted. However, I cannot think that it is so difficult for you to find a suitable subject for that place as you appear to believe. You have not far to go to find one. He is near you. It is Mr. Maenhaut, whom I think much better qualified than is Mr. Hayden. Ist He has the requisite knowledge and virtue: is diligent, zealous and priestly, hence is worthy of the dignity. 2nd He has already been in Natchez, is acclimated and I am certain from inquiries from persons who know him that he will be received with favor by the people and will do great good. 3rd He is a Belgian of a distinguished family, and therefore could get aid from his native country. 4th He speaks English very well and knows French, Spanish, etc. Here are four reasons. I could perhaps advance several others, but these are sufficient. I fully realize that the choice of him would be a great privation for your diocese and especially for your city; but I also know that the general good must prevail.

You would be in the same situation as was Mgr. Flaget when Mgr. Kenrick who was so dear to him in every respect was taken away. He is resigned to the sacrifice for the good of the church in Philadelphia which is now enjoying the fruit of the change. I hope that you will have the same generosity. You have two other names to add to his. I do not see why they do not touch the Jesuits or Lazarists. Already six Sulpicians are bishops: Mgr. Flaget, *votre serviteur,* Mgr. the Archbishop, Mgr. Bruté, Mgr. Chabrat, Mgr. Dubois. Why could not the Jesuits give some of their Fathers? And why could not the Lazarists give up Mr. Timon or Mr. Odin . . . ? Were I in your place I would put these three names in this order: Mr. Maenhaut, Mr. Timon, Mr. Odin. I know only too much to say of one of our Priests whom you mention as candidate. . . . He is doing well in Louisville. It is necessary, I think, to let him remain there.

My very dear brother, you have here all that my poor health, and my weakness and my head allow me to write. Excuse my scribbling and be assured of the sentiments of sincere and respectful esteem and affection with which I am,

Your ever devoted Brother in N. S.
✠John B. M. Bishop of Mauricastro.

To Right Rev. Dr. Blanc
Bishop of New Orleans, La.
Archives of Notre Dame, Indiana.

VII

Solitude near Bardstown Feb. 5, 1835.

I have received your kind favor this morning, my dear Elizabeth. I hasten to answer it. Rev. Mr. Reynolds has been appointed by the Bishop, Pastor of Louisville in place of Mr. Abell who is now making a retreat at the Jesuits and will be stationed elsewhere. I was invited week before last to go to Nazareth. I went last Sunday week and

stayed ten days. Mr. DeLuynes was absent. I was desired to give an instruction to the Novices, which I did. I was asked to hear the Sisters' confessions on Saturday; to this I also consented. I found my Daughters the same affectionate children as in former times. The Mother has been remarkably kind to me. I found the house afflicted with sickness. The prevailing disease has been hard on the boarders, ten of whom died, who were baptized before they died. The Sisters had their turn; two or three were very sick; none dangerously; I left them all recovering. I returned on Tuesday last, and the same day Mr. DeLuynes reached Nazareth. As to my returning to Nazareth as my house of residence, I know not how it will be. It was the place I had always intended for my home, which I had established and for which I had faithfully and painfully labored for more than 20 years. It would in many respects be the most agreeable place for me in my old age and infirm state of health. I have a good home provided for me, in this solitude, and Bp. Flaget takes every means in his power to make it comfortable. But, as I place my happiness in this life, in being where God wills to have me be, whatever may be my attraction to Nazareth, I will not move one step to go there, until I see clearly that it is His Holy Will. I have here my Saviour close to me; He is all sufficient. I have resolved to wait in peace for the determination of Providence.

Rev. Mr. Reynolds is still Superior of Nazareth and will continue so for sometime, perhaps until August. Rev. Mr. DeLuynes continues the confessor; Sister Bernadine O'Bryan is a good child; I hope she will be a good Sister. Nothing can give me greater pleasure than to hear that my dear Daughters continue in their loving remembrance of their old Father. Assure Srs. Philippa and Ignatia that he is not behind hand with them, but frequently and affectionately remembers them before God; and that I may truly say with St. John that *I have no greater grace* (that is, nothing that gives me greater joy and satisfaction) *than to hear that my children walk in truth.* Let them redouble their prayers for him, that he may go to the place prepared for him, that he may there pray also for his dear children to come and join him in perfect bliss, never to part again.

As to my health, except for a long spell of the asthma, it is become pretty good and is as good as I have enjoyed for a great while. Tell Sr. Philippa I am well taken care of. I have Eulalia Flaget who does her best for me as well as Miss Teresa Horrel, who lives with her.

I must add that the Sisters of Bethlehem have a tolerably good school for the season. Nazareth has about sixty boarders; and ten orphans, who are under the care of S. Alexia who is helped by S. Cecily. I know not what more to say—you must excuse my bad writing; my forefinger is sore and wrapped up. Give my love to all the Sisters.

Your ever affectionate Father,

✠John B. M. Bp. of Mauricastro.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

February 6, 1830

(To the politeness of a gentleman who was at Frankfort during the pendency of the Bills to incorporate Nazareth and Loretto, in the Legislature, we are indebted for the following sketches of proceedings in both Houses.—*Ed. Herald.*)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 18.

Mr. Morehead, from the committee on Education, reported to the House of Representatives, a bill for the incorporation of the female literary and benevolent institution called Nazareth, near Bardstown, with an amendment, specifying the names of the Trustees, and also an amendment reserving to the Legislature, the power of repealing, annulling, or modifying the said charter at any future time.

The Speaker, Mr. Crittenden [whose daughter was educated at Nazareth], put the question, and the amendments were adopted. It was then proposed and ordered that the bill should be engrossed and read a third time; but on the motion of Mr. Tibbats, seconded by Dr. Declary and Mr. Beall, it was put immediately on its passage.

Mr. Hardy moved that the Bill be previously read, which being done, the Speaker put the question whether the Bill should pass, and it was carried with only one or two dissenting voices amidst a hundred.

Mr. Morehead then reported from the same Committee another Bill, for the incorporation of the female literary and benevolent institution called Loretto, in Washington county, with the like proviso as an amendment; and the question being put, the amendment was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Tibbats then moved that the bill be immediately put on the passage. The motion was seconded (if we recollect well) by Mr. Guthrie, and was unanimously carried.

Mr. Rucker, from Caldwell county, rose and observed, that he feared the House was proceeding too fast. He was opposed to the ascendancy of any religious sect. He was friendly to the institution in question but could not assent to the Bill, which might place the property of the institution under the control of a foreign power, the Pope of Rome. The Bishop was by the Bill constituted Moderator of the Board of Trustees and as the Bishop is chosen by the Pope of Rome, this foreign Potentate might issue his mandates to the Bishop, and dispose of the property according to his pleasure. He wished the members of the Institute to nominate their own Trustees, and not leave the nomination to the Bishop, influenced by a foreign power.

Mr. Forest observed in reply, that the gentleman must not have attended to the reading of the Bill, or he would not have urged such objections.

Mr. Bucker replied, that he had attended to its reading, and that his

constitutional scruples were not removed by it. He was opposed to the influence of a foreign power.

Mr. Beall observed, that he supposed the gentleman's opposition arose from a dislike to the name.

Mr. Bucker replied, that he had no objection to the Institution, but on the contrary, was friendly to it. He was non-sectarian in politics and legislation. He acted not on any sectarian principle, but that throughout the state, there is not a respectable Female Academy, fully deserving public confidence and patronage, save Catholic institutions. He had said in the commencement, that the gentleman was pardonable, but on further reflection, he declared him unpardonable, since he ungenerously opposed this attempt to establish female education on a solid and permanent basis.

Mr. Rucker in reply, disclaimed any narrow or sectarian views. He had not been so fortunate as the last gentleman, in associating himself with a female; but he had not lost all hopes. He objected to the bill on constitutional principles; and his constitutional scruples had not been removed by any thing he had yet heard. He was not unfriendy to the institution, but he was opposed to the exercise of authority by a foreign power (the Pope of Rome over property in this State). He wanted the Sisters to nominate their own Trustees.

Mr. Calhoon, from Breckenridge, observed, that he saw no just cause for the gentleman's apprehensions. He had been informed by respectable authority that the Legislature of Maryland had granted a charter to a similar institution: (St. Joseph's at Emmitsburg, incorporated under the name of Sisters of Charity, and as a pious and beneficent association by an act of the Assembly of Maryland). He had also understood that the Congress of the United States had in more than one instance, incorporated and privileged similar institutions: (the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Visitation.) It could not be supposed, that Congress and the Assembly of Maryland, had acted contrary to the principles of the Constitution. He thought the present request a very just one, since Catholics have done so much for education. They have claims on the country for the services which they have rendered it by diffusing the benefits of education.

Mr. Rucker declared that he still dreaded the power which the bill would give the Pope of Rome. He was still opposed to it, not from sectarian but constitutional principles.

Mr. Beall expressed his satisfaction, that he had afforded the gentleman from Caldwell, an opportunity of making speeches. He knew that he had come big with speeches, and was happy to have thrown in his way the occasion of discharging some of the burthen.

Mr. Rucker, with some warmth, declared the correctness of his motives and views. He was opposed to the bill from principle, and would vote against it, but would acquiesce in the will of the majority.

The Speaker intimated that personalities should not be indulged in, and that it was not in order to speak more frequently than necessary on the same subject.

The Yeas and Nays were called for, and the question being put, was carried by the vote of the whole House, with the single exception of Mr. Rucker's *No.*

SENATE

Monday, Dec. 21

The Senate was occupied until an unusually late hour, and an adjournment being proposed, Mr. Hardin arose and stated to the House that two Reverend Clergymen were in attendance on the two small bills to incorporate two Female institutions. They had been induced to remain in town, with view, that in case any explanations might be deemed necessary, they might offer them. He therefore moved, that the House pass to the order of the day. The question was put, and the motion agreed to. The Clerk then proceeded to read the various Bills, but several others preceding those in question, a member (we think Mr. Allen) proposed to pass to them at once. The motion was agreed to, and the Clerk read the bill for incorporating the female literary and benevolent institution of Nazareth, near Bardstown.

Mr. Hardin observed that, as he understood the nature of the institution, several females had associated themselves in this Sisterhood, partly for religious and partly for benevolent purposes, and that he himself had known many instances of their benevolence. They have a school for the education of females, which, in his opinion, is one of the best female schools in the country. The French language is taught there by ladies, natives of France, and music and the various other branches of female education are taught by ladies highly qualified for that purpose. The character and virtue of these good Nuns, are beyond praise. The utmost vigilance is used in regard to the morals of the pupils. They have sent forth to society, some of its brightest ornaments. The excellence of the school is known by many members of the Legislature, whose daughters have been educated there. Its advantages have been appreciated by the inhabitants of various other States, and young ladies from Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana and other States, have been sent thither in great numbers, whence considerable sums of money have been poured into the country. By the economy used in the administration of the school, these good ladies have been enabled to make considerable savings, though the terms of tuition are moderate; and with the aid of some small donations from members of their own body, and the Bishop of Bardstown, they have purchased a considerable tract of land, and made improvements, perhaps to the amount of $50,000. The school itself is a large and elegant building. Whilst thus advancing the cause of virtue and literature, they have experienced considerable difficulties from the want of a corporate and legal existence, as the Bishop had frequently declared to Mr. H. They have been forced to invest their property in the Bishop, in whom they place the most unreserved confidence, so that were he to live always, they would not, per-

haps, be solicitous about being incorporated. But the contingencies to which the property is subject, in case of his death, render them justly anxious to secure the succession of it in their own body by means of a corporation. Other difficulties, besides, are to be obviated. The Sisters not being able personally to attend to the various contracts and other temporal concerns connected with so extensive an establishment, are obliged to employ a man for that purpose; and as purchases are made to a large amount, difficulty occurs as to the persons whose names are to be put forward in the contracts, or in whose names debts are to be incurred. If the pensions of their pupils are unpaid, it is somewhat difficult to determine in whose name the suit for the recovery of the same is to be brought, and if claims be advanced against the institution which the Sisters deem unjust (for any claims which they know to be just, he was confident, they would immediately satisfy), there is no legal name whereby they can be sued. It is therefore highly desirable to obviate these and other difficulties by creating a corporate body. The Legislature has already done much for other institutions raised by the different religious societies. It is indeed the only effectual means of promoting education. Efforts otherwise made have proved, in a great degree, abortive; but by patronizing the various sects in their efforts to diffuse information, much may be effected. The Presbyterians have received a charter, the Baptists likewise, and he believed the Cumberland Presbyterians. Even the Catholics have obtained the incorporation of St. Joseph's. Whilst so much has been done for the education of males, shall nothing be done for females who form so interesting and important a portion of the Community? They are, in some degree, a proscribed race, we have deprived them of interference in most of the public concerns of the State; but shall we deny them even the advantages of education? Is it generous to refuse legislative aid to the efforts of these helpless females, who have already done a great deal for virtue, a great deal for piety, a great deal for charity, and a great deal for literture! Mr. H. trusted that the Senate would not hesitate to pass the bill.

Dr. Rudd rose to support the motion of the gentleman from Nelson. He had also to urge the grant of a charter to a similar institution in Washington county, called Loretto. The nature of the institution has been very well explained by the last gentleman, with the exception of the term "nuns," which through mistake he had applied to them. They are not nuns. By Nuns Catholics understand females devoted to the austerities of a religious life by perpetual obligations. The Sisters of Charity bind themselves for a year only, at the end of which, they are perfectly free to retire from the institute and marry. They devote themselves to female education, and he presumed no one is ignorant of the general neglect that exists in this regard. Yet nothing is more important to society. To the female is entrusted, the care and formation of the young mind even of our own sex.

Prejudices against Catholics exist even in the minds of some enlight-

ened men, who cannot be blamed on this account, considering the industry which has been used to disguise Catholic principles. It may be thought that Catholics in temporal matters, as well as in spiritual, are under the control of the Pope, and this bill wil give him some influence over the property of these ladies. But who does not know that the authority which Catholics acknowledge in the Pope is spiritual? The Irish Catholics disclaimed on oath, all civil allegiance. Who can be ignorant, that when the weak tyrant John laid his crown at the feet of the Pope, the Archbishop Langton at the head of the English barons wrung from the tyrant the great charter of British liberty? Irish Catholics have lately given evidence of their good dispositions towards other denominations, since they with O'Connell at their head (that wonderful man who has shaken the British kingdom to its centre) sought the relief of Protestant Dissenters, even before Catholics themselves had obtained their own emancipation. Are not Catholics found to be good citizens, whether called to sit in the councils of their country, or to fight her battles in the hour of peril? The Catholic who should prove false to his country, would merit the severest censures of the Church. According to the great charter of our liberties Catholics enjoy the same rights as other citizens, and I trust therefore, the Senate will grant the just request now made.

The question was then put whether the bill should be read a second time and was carried by 31 to 4. Mr. Hardin then moved that the second and third reading be dispensed with, and the bill immediately put on its passage, since its object was fully understood. A member whose name we did not learn, objected to the dispensation, as he wished more accurately to weigh the various clauses of the bill. Dr. Rudd arose and observed, that perhaps some might think the Bishop to be Moderator ex-officio, which is not the case. The present Bishop is indeed Moderator, but on his demise, the Trustees are to choose the Moderator, as they are also to fill every occurring vacancy. Mr. Maupin inquired whether, in case of any lady leaving the institution, she received her property which on her entrance she had given. Mr. Hardin observed, that he had understood that any young lady, on entering the institution, was obliged to make a donation of her property but should she do so, she was in the case of any other female donor, who, after the age of twenty-one, might make a legal transfer of her property.

The question was put whether the Rules of the House as to the second and third readings shall be dispensed with and was carried by a majority of 31 to 4. The question was then put whether the bill should pass, and was carried by the same majority. Mr. Hardin then moved that the act to incorporate the Female literary and benevolent institution of Loretto, pass without reading, since it is literally a copy of the other, with the exception of the names of the Trustees, and the limitation of five thousand dollars rents and proceeds instead of ten. A member objected, and the bill was accordingly read. The question was put

whether it should be read a second time and was carried—yeas 31, nays 4. Mr. Hardin moved for a dispensation of the second reading. He would move for a dispensation in the third reading, but the proviso authorizing the legislature to modify or repeal the act, was wanting. Mr. Rudd stated, that its omission was a mere error of the clerk, since a member of the House of Representatives then present, testified its adoption in that House as an amendment. It was then proposed as an amendment, and the question being put, it passed unanimously. The question was then put whether the bill itself should pass, and was carried by a majority of 31 to 4.

We have been furnished with a copy of the acts as they passed both Houses, which we cannot conveniently insert this week. They are verbally the same, with the exceptions of the Trustees, of whom there are seven, to each institution, including the Moderator, Rt. Rev. Bishop Flaget. The Board for Nazareth consists of John Baptist David, Francis Patrick Kenrick, Benjamin Chapeze, Augustin Robertson, Catherine Spalding and Angela Spink. Those for Loretto are John Lancaster, Guy Ignatius Chabrat, David Deparcq and three female members of the institution, whose names we have not learned.

FUNERAL OF REV. GEORGE A. M. ELDER

Meeting of the Officers, Professors and Students of St. Joseph's College

The Officers, Professors and students of St. Joseph's College assembled at 8 o'clock on Saturday the 29th of September, and as an expression of the deep and heartfelt sorrow they experienced, at the death of their distinguished and lamented President, the Rev. G. A. M. Elder, adopted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved:* That in the decease of the Rev. G. A. M. Elder whom it has lately pleased Divine Providence, in his unscrutable dispensations to remove from amongst us, we have sustained the loss of a careful and affectionate parent to youth, and of a brilliant ornament and benefactor of this institution and to society in general.
2. *Resolved:* That in testimony to the high regard in which we held him when alive, and the abiding grief with which we lament his decease, each and every Officer, Professor and Student of the College wear a badge of crape on his left arm for the space of thirty days.
3. *Resolved:* That some member of the Eurodelphian Society, be appointed to pronounce an Eulogy on the virtues of the venerable deceased.

Funeral of Rev. George A. M. Elder

On Saturday morning after the decease of the Rev. G. A. M. Elder, his remains were transported to the sanctuary of St. Joseph's Cathedral, where they were laid out, dressed in all the *insignia* of his priestly office, as directed by the Roman Ritual. At 7 o'clock of the same morning a solemn Mass of Requiem was chanted by the Pastor of the Cathedral, assisted by the Clergy of the College. After the obsequies had been performed, the body remained in the sanctuary, as before, until evening, when it was deposited in the coffin.

On Sunday morning after Divine Service, a funeral discourse was delivered to an immense assemblage of people, by the Rev. M. J. Spalding, Pastor of the Cathedral. The hearers were generally and deeply affected, as their tears and sobs attested. After the Funeral Discourse, the procession advanced from the Cathedral, to the Nazareth Cemetery, where it was the wish of the deceased to be interred, he having a sister in that Institution. Never have we seen such a concourse of persons at any funeral, as that of those who followed the hearse on this occasion. The Louisville Turnpike road was thronged for nearly a quarter of a mile in length.

Such was the esteem and love which were shown to the virtues and public services of the deceased President! There was no distinction of creed or sect; all seemed filled with the same sentimnts of high admiration for his virtues, and deep grief at his loss.

The order of the Procession was as follows:

1st. The Pall Bearers (students of St. Joseph's College).
2ly. The fathers and brothers of the deceased on horseback.
3rdly. The carriage containing the other chief mourners.
4thly. The clergy on horseback.
5thly. The Student's of St. Joseph's College, wearing crape.
6thly. An immense multitude on horseback, followed by many carriages.

When the procession had reached Nazareth the body was conveyed to the chapel of the Institution where the Rev. A. Ganihl delivered an appropriate and moving discourse, chiefly directed to the members of the Nazareth Female Academy. After the body had been interred, the procession returned.

On Monday morning following, a meeting of the Trustees of St. Joseph's College was convened, at which it was resolved unanimously:

That we deeply lament the death of the Rev. Geo. A. M. Elder, late President of St. Joseph's College.

The Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., was then elected President of St. Joseph's College and the Rev. G. W. Haydon, Vice President. After which the Board adjourned.

BISHOP DAVID'S "MANUAL OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE"

To MY Beloved Daughters of Nazareth.

Although your rules, dictated by the heavenly wisdom of your holy Founder, my dear Daughters, are sufficient, if faithfully observed, to lead you to a great perfection; yet to promote that perfection, which is the object of my most earnest desires, I have this long time, felt myself moved to write for you some advice on your religious duties, and to form of them a sort of Manual, which you might have often in your hands, to animate you to an exact observance of them. A want of leisure, at first, and then many other obstacles have hitherto hindered me from accomplishing that design; which I hope to be able to do now, with the help of Heaven. This Manual will consist of four parts; the first shall treat of the general notions and maxims of a religious life; the second, of the spirit and virtues peculiar to your institute; the third, of the exercises and practices of the institute; the fourth, of the duties annexed to the various offices.

General Notions and Maxims of a Religious Life

ARTICLE FIRST

Eight Marks to Know Whether a Religious Community Is Well Regulated, and Retains Its Primitive Spirit

1. If all things in the community be faithfully held in common, so that no one will pretend to say "This or that is mine," for then the community exhibts an image of the first and most perfect community that ever was, and of which it is said, "And the multitude of the believers had but one heart and soul. Neither did any one say, that of the things which he possessed, any thing was his own, but all things were common unto them; neither was there any one needy among them." (Acts Iv. 32, 34).

2. If charity and concord flourish in it, by means of the mutual respect and honor, which all the religious bear to one another.

3. If ambition is banished from it, with all desires of honor and preferment; so that every one shuns offices, in which there is some appearance of honor, yet without ceasing to qualify herself for any, in case the will of God, should call her to it.

4. If solitude and silence are cherished and observed by all, with a perfect obedience to Superiors, without any exception or hesitation.

5. If there is but little frequentation and visits of parents, relations, or other persons of the world; and if, when necessity compels them to receive such visits, the Sisters make it a practice to speak with them of spiritual things, besides those which are necessary.

6. If the Sisters entertain a great desire for advancing in virtue and perfection, and to obtain it, employ all their care, labor, and industry.

7. If the rules are faithfully observed, and if penances and mortifications are duly imposed, and exactly accomplished by those who have transgressed them.

8. If all the Sisters zealously apply to the practice of mental prayer, particular and general examinations of conscience, and the frequentation of the Sacraments, the reading of good books, and such other exercises as are prescribed by the rules, for the acquisition of virtue and perfection; which is the end, for which they have entered into a religious life. To this add—

ARTICLE SECOND

The Four Interior Supports of a Religious Community

First—Mental prayer; Second—The spirit of faith; Third—Interior recollection; Fourth—Fraternal charity and

The Four Exterior Supports

First—The accusation of their faults, made with exactness and humility; Second—Mutual admonitions given with charity, but without human respect, and received with gratitude and docility; Third—The rendering an account of their consciences, made with openness and docility; Fourth—The manner of spending the recreations.

ARTICLE THIRD

The Nine Fruits of a Religious Life, Pointed Out by St. Bernard

In religion a soul first, leads her life more purely; second, falls into sin more rarely; third, rises from it more quickly; fourth, walks more cautiousy; fifth, is watered with grace more frequenty; sixth, reposes more securely; seventh, dies more confidently; eighth, is purified more speedily; ninth, is rewarded more abundantly.

ARTICLE FOUR

The Nature and Excellency of a Religious Life

Religion, or a religious life, is not other than a certain state tending to Christian perfection, by means of the three vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, which are made in religion, for the love of God, and through a desire of pleasing and serving Him. It is a state instituted by Jesus Christ Himself, first, in His apostles and disciples, and ever since continued and observed in His Church, by a great number of men and women, who have embraced and followed this holy manner of life. It is a state of perfection, in which all those virtues meet together, of which every religious person ought to make a profession. It is, says St. Basil, an institute high and sublime. It is a perpetual sacrifice of one's self, which the religious offers continually to God, by means of the three vows aforesaid, whereby he sacrifices to God all the goods he

possesses, with his body and soul. It is a perfect way of living by the perfect imitation of the life of Jesus Christ, who has exhorted us to this excellent manner of life, both by His words and by His example. It is, says St. Ephrem, a heavenly and angelical life. It is, says St. Bernard, an imitation of the life of the apostles, and a profession of apostolical perfection, a high and elevated state of sanctity, where we find the excellence of that spiritual life, which renders religious persons alike to angels, and different from the rest of mortals, by reforming in man the image of God, and making him alike to Jesus Christ. It is a state of penance, says the holy Doctors; a state, which contains, not only the perfection of charity, but also the perfection of penance. St. Thomas observes, that there is no satisfaction that can be compared to the penance of those, who have consecrated themselves to God in a religious state. The flower of religion, is sanctity; the proper office of which is to offer to God our heart and soul, pure, entire, and free from all defilement of sin; and to consecrate that soul to His service, with all its powers, by means of prayer and devotion, which are the two daughters of the sanctity of life.

What is a Monastery? A Monastery is a heaven upon earth. Therefore, concludes St. John Climacus, in the fourth degree of his Spiritual Ladder, as we believe that the angels in heaven serve God with the purest and most ardent love, so we must serve our Brothers and Sisters in the Monastery. A Monastery is the fortress and citadel of God, fortified and furnished with every thing necessary for defense. It is the field and farm of the Son of God, from which He continually draws great and abundant revenues to His own honor and glory; says St. Bernard. A Monastery is the inclosed garden of the Spouse, His Paradise of delight, His nuptial bed, pure and undefiled. It is the school of virtue, the tabernacle of the Covenant, the closet of the Spouse, the fort of His soldiers, the house of sanctity, the bulwark of chastity, the academy of piety, the abode of devotion, and the dwelling of perfection. A Monastery is Jacob's ladder on which the angels of heaven are ascending and descending. It is the house of God, and the gate of heaven, says St. Anthony. There is to be found the fairest and soundest part of the Church and of the flock of Jesus Christ. For, as St. Gregory Nazianzen remarks, those ought to be counted wiser and more prudent than the rest of the people, who have retired from the crowd and bustle of the world, and have consecrated their lives to God. A Monastery is a Mount Thabor, on which Jesus Christ transfigures Himself; a fertile and fat mountain; a mountain in which God is well pleased to dwell. There we find Peter, that is, Obedience; James, that is Evangelical Poverty; and John the blessed disciple, that is Chastity, which all the inhabitants of that holy mountain vow to God, and faithfully observe. These three things are so agreeable to God, that He permits in this miserable life, the true religious to enjoy here below a portion of that heavenly glory and felicity, which He has prepared for His elect in Heaven; so that religious per-

sons, faithful to their institute, are moved to say, with St. Peter, "Lord, it is good for us to be here."

Religious persons are the domestics of God; they are the chosen members of the family of Jesus Christ, says St. Bernard. "I know not," continues the holy Doctor, "what more worthy title I can give religious persons. Shall I call them heavenly men, or earthly angels, who dwell on earth, but whose conversation is in heaven? It is the occupation of angels to be always in the exercise of praising God and doing His will; and it is also the constant occupation of the religious woman. She applies herself, by fervent prayers, to appease the anger of God, and to obtain graces for her neighbor. The holy will of God is the sole rule of all her actions. She continually employs her mind, sometimes in reading good books, at other times in the exercise of good works. Separated from all unnecessary communication with persons of another sex, one religious person inspires life into another and keeps guard over her."

"How excellent is that life," exclaims St. Ambrose, "in which there is nothing to be feared, and much to imitate" (Ep. xxxv). He may have a sweet assurance of being admitted into the heavenly Jerusalem, who has been called into the assembly and congregation of the just. For it is a great sign of the Divine predilection and predestination, to be called to the enjoyment of that religious company and confraternity. "It is a great honor," a great glory to serve Thee, O Lord, and to despise all things for Thee. For they who willingly subject themselves to Thy most holy service, shall have a great grace; they shall find the most sweet consolation of the Holy Ghost, who, for the love of Thee, have cast away, and neglected all worldly care." "O pleasant and delightful service of God, which makes men equal to angels, pleasing to God, terrible to devils, and commendable to all the faithful! O service worthy to be embraced and always desired, which leads to the Supreme Good, and procures a joy that will never end!" (*Following of Christ,* book III c. 10).

"Embrace, my dear Sisters," says St. Bernard, "embrace this life. Carefully preserve this precious pearl of religion. Embrace that sanctity of life, which makes you alike to the saints of Paradise, and the familiar friends of God."

ARTICLE FIFTH

Some Particular Sentences of the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church in Favor and Recommendation of the Three Vows of Religion

1. "To sell all and distribute it to the poor; and being thus disengaged from all things, to take one's flight towards Heaven, where Jesus Christ is, is an act of apostolic elevation and perfection, and the effect of a heroic virtue." (St. Jerome, Ep. VIII).

2. "Wilt thou be perfect and ascend to the first degree of dignity; do what the apostles have done: forsake all things and follow Jesus; sell

all things and give them to the poor, and follow thy Saviour, carrying the cross, naked and alone." (St. Jerome *ad. Hebr.*, Ep. cl.)

3. "The beginning of perfection and of a spiritual life is a renouncing of all earthly things; and the end of it is charity." (St. John Climacus—last degree of his Ladder).

4. "Poverty was not seen in heaven, but it was found everywhere on earth, yet the world did not know its value. The Son of God came down from heaven upon earth, in order to render it precious and acceptable to men, by the choice and esteem He entertained for it, in taking it upon Himself, and cordially embracing it for our sake." (St. Bernard).

5. St. Francis of Assisium used to say: "that religious poverty was the way of salvation, the support of humility, and the root of perfection; that this virtue produced many and divers excellent fruits, although hidden, and known to but few persons; and that nothing rendered man more commendable and agreeable in the eyes of God than this evangelical virtue." (St. Bonaventure, in his life of St. Francis).

6. God says to the religious the same as He said to the tribe of Levi, consecrated to His worship: "In this land you shall possess nothing, neither shall you have a portion among them; I am thy portion and inheritance in the midst of the children of Israel." (Numb. xviii, 20).

7. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. x,3).

Of Chastity

1. "Jesus Christ, who was the first to teach humility, was also the first to teach chastity." (St. Augustine).

2. It is a deed of great faith and of great virtue, to become the most pure temple of God, to offer one's self as a holocaust, and to be, as the apostle says, holy both in body and mind." (St. Jerome).

3. "The life of those who are chaste and continent is the life of angels," say the holy Fathers Chrysostom, Basil and Ambrose.

4. What happiness is it not, to be the servant-maid of Jesus Christ, not a mortal husband but the immortal Spouse of religious souls; not to obey the flesh, but to obey the spirit! "For he who adheres to the Lord, is one spirit." (Cor. vi.17).

5. "The life of virgins and religious souls, is the life of angels. It is a most beautiful and odoriferous flower, and a most precious stone among the riches and treasures of the Church." (St. Jerome, Ep. xvlll).

6. "Virgins and religious persons are the blossoms of the germ of the Church, the honor and ornament of a spiritual life. They are subjects worthy of praise and honor, a perfect and immortal work, an image and representation of the Divine Being, corresponding with the sanctity of our Lord; in short, it is the most illustrious part and portion of the sheepfold of Jesus Christ." (St. Cyprian).

7. "Virginity (this is understood of that which is vowed or forever

preserved in our hearts for the love of God), is the sister of angels, the victory over lusts, and the possession of all goods," says St. Cyprian.

8. "Perpetual virginity and chastity is a most agreeable sacrifice to God, and the most fit to obtain His favors," says St. Ambrose, and also Origen. "It is truly a very great and a most beautiful virtue, which, to say all in one word, makes the person, who is pure in soul and body, to be alike to God Himself," says St. Basil.

9. "As much as an angel is above man, so much is virginity, consecrated to God, more honorable than marriage; for virginal chastity is an angelical life" (St. John Damasc).

"Purity bringeth near to God. No price is worthy of a continent soul." "Oh how beautiful is the chaste generation with glory! For the memory thereof is immortal; because it is known both with God and with men!" Oh Chastity, mother of love and charity, angelical way of living! (Eccl. xxvi.) Oh Chastity, ever pure in the heart, ever bright to the sight, and glorious to the speech! Oh Chastity, haven of grace and salvation! Oh Chastity, that fillest thy possessor with joy, and givest wings to the soul to fly to Heaven! Oh Chastity, thou bringest gladness to the heart, and drivest all sadness far away! Oh Chastity, thou subduest passions and freest the soul from trouble! Oh Chastity, spiritual chariot that bearest upwards the soul that possesses thee! Oh Chastity, that as a budding rose, openest thyself and flourishest amidst the body and the soul, and fillest the whole interior house with thy delightful odor.

Obedience

1. "Obedience," said Samuel to Saul, "is better than sacrifices"; for this reason, says St. Gregory, "that by sacrifices the flesh of other animals is immolated, but, by obedience, we immolate our own will, which is an oblation of inestimable value before God."

2. "Obedience is an admirable virtue, that causes man to forget himself, and to tend continually towards his Redeemer." (St. Thomas).

3. "The way of obedience is the King's highway, which leads, in all safety, those who practise it, to the top of the ladder of perfection, on which God appears leaning."

4. "Man can not give to God anything greater, than to submit his own will to the will of another, for the love of God." (St. Thomas).

5. "Obedience is a virtue, which, in a rational creature, is as the mother and guardian of all virtues." (St. Augustine).

6. "An obedient man shall speak of victory." "We indeed," says St. Gregory, "Combat Satan by every sort of virtue, but we vanquish him by obedience. Those come out victorious who obey."

7. "Obedience is the only virtue which implants in the soul the other virtues, so that as long as obedience shall flourish, the other virtues shall never wither away" (St. Gregory).

8. It is a deed much more meritorious, to submit our will forever to

the will of another, than to chastise our body by long fasts, and to afflict our soul by a continual penance.

ARTICLE SIXTH

A Summary of the Rules of the Ancient Monks

We learn, by the venerable monuments of the ancient discipline of Monks, many very important points for the conduct of the religious, whether superiors or inferiors; the observance of which is capable of preserving in all the lustre of their primitive institution, and to make of the religious so many models of regularity, sanctity and edification in the Church of Jesus Christ.

1. We see in the first place, with what zeal and attention the principal leaders of the monastic state of former times formed assemblies for the maintenance of regular observance, and the encouragement of the religious in the duties and virtues of their state; and what was, at the same time, their charity, their meekness, their patience, their prudence, and their firmness in the government.

2. We see the strict obligation incumbent on superiors; never to seek their own interests; never to appropriate to themselves anything belonging to the monastery; never to absent themselves without necessity, that they may watch continually over all the souls committed by Providence to their care; to have an equal charity for all; never to judge their brethren through passion or caprice, but according to the rules of the most exact equity; to instruct them in sound doctrine; to nourish them spiritually with the bread of the word of God; to hear and console them in their troubles; to correct them in their faults; to stretch out to them a charitable hand in their heavier faults; to employ, sometimes rigor, and sometimes weakness, to recall them, when they go astray; to remove from them the occasions of scandal; to provide, without predilection or preference, for all their temporal needs, both in health and sickness; to give to them all good examples, to be always at their head in all the regular observances; finally, to govern them, as being persuaded that they are to give an account of them, soul for soul, to the Sovereign Judge.

3. We see what ought to be the conduct of inferiors, towards their superiors, towards their brethren, and in the observance of their regular duties for the salvation of their own souls. They ought to fear their superiors as their masters, love them as their fathers in Jesus Christ. They ought to receive their instructions with a spirit of piety, their admonitions with respect, their corrections with meekness and in silence, their penance with docility and humility. They ought to obey them through virtue and religion, with diligence and exactness, never doing anything without their orders, never disposing of anything without their permission; conforming themselves to their will in all things, and living with them in a filial confidence, and in an entire dependence. They ought, with regard to their brothers or sisters, to consider them in Jesus Christ,

as supplying the place of the brothers, sisters, and other relatives, whom they have left in the world; to cherish them with tenderness, to consider them as other themselves, and to observe towards them, by their meekness, their patience, their affability, their humility, all the rules of the charity which our Lord has recommended to us in the Gospel.

Finally, with regard to themselves, they ought to be mortified in their senses, to love labor and occupation preferably to the repose and the conveniences of life; to apply themselves to cultivate their souls by the practice of virtue and the exercise of piety; to render themslves assiduous to all the duties of the Monastery, especially to those of prayer, to obey quickly the signal which calls them to those various duties; to acquit themselves of them, not through constraint, or with negligence, but for the good of their souls and with a holy fervor. They must go abroad but very seldom, and never without necessity; love their cells or work rooms, as the paradise of the earth; and there employ themselves either in prayer, or reading, or labor, as they are directed; shun the commerce of the world and all unprofitable communications with secular persons, and above all, with those of another sex, even with those who make a more particular profession of piety, such as priests and other clergymen or religious; show themselves exteriorly, only to edify, and procure Jesus Christ to be glorified by their words and their modesty. They ought, in a word, to live as angels in the house of God; since, by their holy vocation, God has drawn them from the world, that they might consecrate themselves entirely to Him: looking on their Monastery as an abode of sanctity, and on their habit as a garment of sanctity; on all that surrounds them in the house of God, and on all their exercises, and the practices of their state, as so many means of sanctity. Behold the end of the holy rules prescribed by those fathers of the religious life.

Behold, then, what they taught their disciples, and procured with so much care to be faithfully observed. And behold the true spirit which ought to animate the good superiors in religious houses, and the good religious under their guidance.

ARTICLE SEVENTH

Description of a Monastery of True Religious

The order of Tabenna might be considered as a prodigy, which God has wrought for the salvation of souls, and as a model, to be proposed to all those who wish to assemble souls together, to lead them to the most eminent perfection. St. Pachomius himself did not consider it in another light; not through a vain complacency of self-love, but by a sentiment of the mercy of God on a work which he had undertaken only by His orders. There was to be seen at Tabenna, an almost innumerable multitude of fervent religious persons solely devoted to the care of their own souls, and wholly intent on acquiring the sanctity of their state; of religious persons, for whom the world was nothing, and

who seemed to live almost no longer upon earth, but already began, in some measure, to enjoy the bliss of heaven; because seeking, as they did, God with uprightness of heart, and serving him with a sincere affection, God in return filled them with the sweetness of His divine consolations, and caused them to enjoy an interior peace a thousand times more consoling, than all that can be enjoyed here below in the vain pleasures of the world. Those holy religious lived intimately united to one another by the tie of a most pure and holy charity. They mutually enouraged one another, to make daily progress in the life of the spirit. They fed their souls, with a holy avidity, with the food of the word of God. They conversed together only on the means of triumphing over their passions and the devil, and of arriving at a most eminent sanctity; and although many of them were no other than peasants gathered from the neighboring villages, and consequently with illiterate and uncultivated minds, they were full of the wisdom of God, by their assiduous study of the maxims of the Gospel, and the communication of the light of Heaven, which they received in great abundance. Hence it will not appear astonishing, that several among them were elevated to the episcopacy, and that the Monastery of Tabenna soon acquired a great celebrity throughout the world; that men should flock to it, not only from every part of Egypt and Armenia, but also from the West, and the utmost boundary of the known world; the former to assure themselves, by their own eyes, of the wonders which they had heard related, and the latter to place themselves under the discipline of the great Pachomius.

ARTICLE EIGHTH

Exhortation of St. Pachomius to His Religious, After the Vision in Which God Revealed to Him the Future of His Order

"Oh! my brethren, so long as we shall have a breath of life, let us fight courageously for the salvation of our souls; lest, when it will be too late, we should repent for having neglected that important affair. Let us exercise ourselves cheerfully in the pursuit of God, and let us shun even the least appearance of sin. Ah! my brethren, if we could pay due attention to the promises made by Almighty God to faithful religious souls, and to the frightful punishments which are prepared for negligent and remiss religious, we would exert all our strength to attain sanctity, according to the rules prescribed by Jesus Christ. Woe to him, who having renounced the world to consecrate himself to God, does not live conformably to the promises he has made to Him! How much I fear lest our parents and kindred, whom we have forsaken and left in the world, and who hope that our prayers and good works will be profitable to them before God, having made the sacrifice of being deprived of us, that we might consecrate ourselves to Him; how much I fear, I say, lest in the day of judgment, they may be covered with great shame and confusion, when they will see that, by our own fault, and against their expectations, we shall be ranked among the reprobate! Therefore, my brethren,

let us labor with all the ardor we are capable of; let us, above all, make use of the frequent remembrance of death, which is so efficacious to disengage our affections from the earth, to smother in our hearts the love of the world, and to elevate our minds to God. Let us think on it every night, when we go to take our rest. Let us then reason with ourselves; let us address every member of our body, let us make our soul thus speak to them: "O my feet, that have now the facility of walking, be ye ever ready to do it in order to accomplish the will of God, before death comes to render you stiff and motionless. O my hands, the time shall come when you too must become stiff, cold, and incapable of motion; but before this will happen, make a good use of your time, while you have the power; whatsoever you are able to do, do it earnestly. Extend yourselves to every good work, and raise yourselves to God in prayer. O my body! before we part, and thou be dissolved in dust, let us labor together to render to God the service which we owe Him. Act now with courage; often prostrate thyself before God; furnish me with abundant tears; submit thyself to the yoke of the Lord; help me to walk with Him, and to embrace with a holy joy all that belongs to His service. Think not on taking rest nor remaining idle in this world, lest thou should precipitate me with thee into eternal flames. If thou now hearken to me, thou shalt share with me the heavenly inheritance; but if thou resist, woe to me for being so closely united to thee, as we are. Thy perdition will necessarily draw mine after it: we shall both be eternally tormented."

If you thus encourage yourselves every day, my brethren, you will see that God will abide in you, as in His own chosen temple; and being with Him, you will have no occasion to fear the artifices of the devil, but you shall be enlightened with the light of the Holy Ghost, who will conduct you better than a thousand masters, and will impart to you a spiritual knowledge which no human words could convey to your minds."

To this exhortation of St. Pachomius, I will join that of Orsisius, one of his successors; that you may know by the lessons of these great masters, the true spirit and fruits of a religious life. After having shown to superiors their obligations, he addresses his words to every religious in particular, whom he earnestly exhorts with several texts of the Holy Scriptures, very happily applied, to labor in working out their own sanctification:

"Be ye," says he, "as faithful servants, who are expecting their Master, with your loins girded, and burning lamps in your hands. Let not the length of the labor dishearten you, considering that you shall be one day introduced into the heavenly banquet. Serve the Lord with joy. Be submissive to your superiors. Avoid murmuring and vain reasonings. Apply to all your duties with simplicity, that being adorned with virtues and the fear of God, you may render yourselves worthy of the adoption with which God has honored you. Remember that you are the temple of God, and that He could exterminate you if you were so unhappy as

to violate this temple by sin. "Grieve not the holy spirit of God." (Eph. IV 30). Live in a great purity, that it may be said of you, that you are "a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up." (Cant. IV). Renounce all the vain desires of the earth; and let all your care be, to accomplish the holy will of God. I conjure you also to maintain yourselves continually in the resolution, which you have taken in embracing a religious state. Consider the lessons of your fathers, as a mysterious ladder by which to ascend to heaven. Desire no longer what you have once trampled under your feet. Content yourselves with what is barely necessary in the affairs of this life, and seek not what is superfluous. Good religious, who submit with humility and mortification to the yoke of religious poverty, of that happy poverty, which enriches them, by stripping them of all temporal possessions; good religious, I say, shall have, when they will happily lay aside that vile spoil of their body, the happiness of being associated with the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles; and they shall repose, as Lazarus, in the bosom of Abraham. But those who dare appropriate to themselves, in Monasteries, what ought to be employed for the common use of their brethren, shall be told when they go out of this world, as the rich man mentioned in the Gospel, that they have possessed goods in this life, while their brethren lived in labor, fasting, and mortification; and that it is but just that these latter should now, in preference to them, enjoy the goods and delights of eternity; since, to possess them, they have cheerfully renounced the conveniences of this life. But, as to those, who would not conform themselves to the Gospel, they deserve nothing but the torments and frightful misery of hell."

Orsisius shows thereby, how much he had at heart the practice of religious poverty. He insists upon this, more than upon any other point. He recommends that nothing useless should be retained, but only what is permitted by the rule. He says, "that if any one appropriate to himself any furniture and keep it to himself or give it to another to keep for him, both are guilty, and ought to no longer be regarded as being in the number of the brethren; but rather as hirelings, strangers, scandalous subjects, and destroyers of the monastic discipline."

Although he recommends much charity and union, yet he will not have any of those human natural friendships, which are contrary to the charity which should bind all alike together, and constitute singularities. When a superior reproves a brother for a fault, he specially forbids that another, under pretense of friendship, should presume to defend him, and to maintain his cause against the superior, "Because," says he, "but for your interference, he would have risen again and returned to his duty, and you prostrate him anew; he would have corrected his error, and you cause him to go still further out of the right way. Woe to you, who thus intoxicate your brother, by presenting to him a liquor that troubles his mind! Woe to you who thus turn the blind from his right path! You inspire, with a proud independence, him who was ready to submit; you fill with bitterness the heart of him who was about to taste

the sweets of chartiy; you seduce him into rebellion, when he was disposed to surrender to discipline; and you irritate his mind against the superior, who had no other view than to instruct him according to the spirit of God."

Finally, Orsisius ends his treatise by the following words, which are so very instructive, and which also show that he was approaching the end of his course, when he addressed them to his religious community: "I will speak to you again, my dearest children, since the Lord would have me to take charge of your conduct. I have not ceased to admonish each of you in particular, and to exhort you with tears, that you should render yourselves agreeable to God. I cannot reproach myself with having concealed from you anything which I thought would be profitable for the salvation of your souls. And now I commend you to God, and pray that His grace may fortify you, and conduct you to the possession of the heavenly inheritance. Be watchful, labor earnestly, never lose sight of the end which you proposed to yourselves, in embracing a religious life, and faithfully comply with the engagements which you have contracted. As to me, I feel that I am going, and that the time of my dissolution is approaching. I have fought, at least in part, a good fight. I have kept the faith. It now remains for me to receive the crown of justice, which God, as a just Judge, has laid up for me, and will render me at the last day; and not to me only, but to all those who have loved justice, and have kept the precepts of their fathers. I conclude with these words, that contain all that I could say to you: Fear the Lord; observe His commandments; for He will examine in His judgments all the works of man both good and evil."

ARTICLE NINTH

The Happy State of a Religious Soul That Has Subdued Her Passions

St. John of Egypt, exhorting the religious to banish vices from their souls, pointed out vanity as one of the most dangerous, and attended with the most pernicious consequences; and he observes that this subtle vice, attacks equally both those who begin, and those who are already much advanced in virtue. From vanity, the Saint passes to other vices, and exhorts the religious to combat them courageously. The means he suggests for succeeding in this is, to watch carefully in keeping a guard over their minds and their hearts, to prevent any vain desire, any disorderly wish from taking deep roots in them. "For, besides, this would produce a crowd of distractions, which take possession of the soul in time of prayer, captivate the mind, cause the imagination to wander about on a thousand unprofitable and pernicious objects; soon may depraved affections open by sin the door of the soul to the devil, who comes and establishes his dwelling there, as in a house that already belongs to him."

He afterwards describes, in a few words, the deplorable state of a

religious soul in whom the devil has established his empire by sin. "He never can," says he, "enjoy any peace or repose. The soul is always in trouble and disquietude. Sometimes she suffers herself to be carried away by a senseless external joy; at other times she will sink into a deep sadness, because she had introduced into her interior a miserable guest, by yielding to her disorderly passions." Then, to render the deformity of the soul of a religious who by his vices and passions had become the dwelling of the devil, more sensibly felt, the Saint opposes to it the happy state of him who has opened the door of his heart to the Holy Ghost, by subduing his passions; which he describes in the following manner: "On the contrary, he who has truly and sincerely renounced the world, that is, who has retrenched sin from his heart, and left no doors open, whereby it may find an entrance into it again; he who restrains his anger, subdues his disorderly emotions, shuns lying, detests envy; who not only avoids detraction, but does not even give himself the liberty of judging his neighbor; who looks upon the prosperity and affliction of his brethren as his own; and conducts himself on every occasion accordingly; such a one, I say opens the door of his heart to the Holy Ghost; who having once entered into it, nothing is found therein but contentment, joy, charity, patience, meekness, kindness, and all the other fruits which are produced by this Holy Spirit of consolation."

After having shown them what the religious ought to avoid, St. John points out what he ought to strive to acquire. This Saint insists principally on purity of heart. He requires that he should aim at it by all combats against his passions, by every effort to purify his soul from all irregular affections, and by every spiritual exercise which he practices in his state. He assures him, that this purity of heart will dispose him wonderfully for contemplation, and for receiving the most signal graces. What he says on the subject deserves to be related in full, because it includes, in a few words and in a very simple manner, what the masters of a spiritual life have said, in greater detail and more extensively, of interior prayer, and of the sacred commerce of the soul with God, and with the Blessed Spirit.

"If, therefore," says he, "we present ourselves before God, with a conscience pure and free from those defects and passions of which I have alrady spoken, we shall be able to see God, as much as He can be seen in this life, and to raise up to Him, in our prayers, the eye of our understanding, to contemplate, not with corporeal eyes, nor with sensible looks, but with the eyes of the mind and by an intellectual knowledge, His who is invisible. For let no one persuade himself, that he can contemplate the Divine Essence, such as it is in itself; nor attempt to form for that purpose, in his mind, some image that has any relation to a corporeal figure. Let us not imagine any form in God, nor any limit, whereby He can be circumscribed; but let Him be conceived as a pure spirit, who can make us feel His presence, and penetrate the affections of our souls; but who can neither be comprehended, limited, nor represented by words.

For which reason, we ought never to approach Him, but with a profound respect and a very great fear; nor consider Him with our interior looks, but in such a manner, that our souls may know that He is infinitely elevated above all the splendor, all the light, all the brightness, all the majesty, which they are capable of comprehending; even though they were all pure, and perfectly exempt from all the stains and blemishes of a corrupt will."

After speaking thus of contemplation, the Saint comes to those extraordinary graces, which God sometimes grants a pure soul; such as the holy familiarity with which He honors her, the mysteries and the secrets He reveals to her, and the apparitions to her of blessed spirits. "He who knows God after this sort, shall afterwards acquire the knowledge of other things, and even of the greater mysteries; for the purer his soul will be, the more will God reveal to him of His divinse secrets; because He will then consider him as His friend, as one of those to whom our Saviour says in the Gospel, "I will not now call you servants, but I have called you friends.' (John xv. 15). And thus He will grant to him, as to a friend who is most dear to His heart, the effect of his prayers. The angels and all the blessed spirits who are in Heaven will cherish him, as being the friend of their God and Master; they will fulfill his desires; and it may be said truly of him, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate him from the love of God which is in Christ our Lord.

ARTICLE TENTH

The Happiness of a Vocation to a Religious Life

1. You can never conceive a sufficient esteem and love for your vocation. It is a favor that you should esteem a thousand times more than all the sceptres and crowns of the universe, and that you ought to love more than the dearest things you have in the world. Ah! Can you ever sufficiently esteem a state, which preserves you from a multitude of sins, which you would be incessantly committing in the world, had you remained exposed to its dangers; a state which keeps you continually occupied in exercises of piety, which causes you to merit every moment immortal crowns of glory; a state, which gives you God Himself for your portion and inheritance; which procures for you the advantages and honor of dwelling in His own house, where He makes you taste of ineffable delights; a state in fine, that will conduct you infallibly to Heaven, if you faithfully comply with the duties thereof. It is an estimable grace, the full value of which you shall never know till you are in eternity. What have you done for God to induce Him to grant you such a favor, and to give you the preference over so many others who perhaps deserve it more than you, and would have made a better use of it than you do? Let, then, this grace be most dear and precious to you. Give thanks to God for it every day, and fail not to renew also every day the vows which bind you to it. This renovation is the

confirmation of the alliance, which you contracted with God on the day of your profession; and as often as you make it, it draws upon you new graces from His divine liberality.

2. Endeavor to comprehend well the excellence of your state, that you may conceive for it a still greater esteem and love. There is nothing equals the excellence and perfection of martyrdom; because charity, in which perfection consists, can not be carried to a higher degree, than to suffer for Jesus Christ. But the religious state is not only a martyrdom, but it includes a multitude of martyrdoms. For the consecration of ourselves to the service of God, especially by religious vows, is a martyrdom, in the judgment of pious persons; because it makes us die to the world, and immolates us to God. Obedience is a martyrdom, according to St. Theodore; because it makes us die to our own will. Chastity is a martyrdom, in the opinion of St. Ambrose; because it makes us die to the pleasures of the body. Poverty is a martyrdom, if we believe St. Bernard, because it engages us to suffer many inconveniences, and makes us die to the love of riches. Mortification of vices is a martyrdom, as St. Gregory, Pope, assures us, because it crucifies the flesh with its vices and concupiscences. Penance is a martyrdom, in the sentiment of St. John Chrysostom, because it afflicts all the members of the body, which had become an instrument of sin. Purity of the heart is a martyrdom, in the opinion of St. Jerome, because it makes us die to sin. The love of God is a martyrdom, in the opinion of St. Bridget because it consumes us with its fire, and makes us die of grief to see God so little loved, so ill served and so much offended. The love of our neighbor is a martyrdom, according to St. Gregory Nazianzen, because it makes us share in his sufferings, and suffer with patience his defects, his persecutions, and his injustices. All christian and religious virtues are finally, so many martyrdoms, in the estimation of St. Cyprian, who calls them the glorious martyrdoms of virtue; because they make us die to the opposite vices, and because we must offer to ourselves a great violence in order to practice them.

The religious state includes in itself all those sorts of martyrdom, because it engages us to practice all those virtues. We may say that a true religious soul resembles those heroes of the Christian religoin, who suffered a great many martyrdoms by the various tortures which the cruelty of tyrants inflicted upon them; but with these three differences, which are very glorious to us, first, that her martyrdom is voluntary and of her own free choice; whereas that of other martyrs was often forced upon them; she offers herself freely unto death; whereas the martyrs were dragged thereto; second, that the other martyrs were the martyrs of faith; but she is the martyr of perfection. They suffered that they might not lose their souls; she suffers to make herself more perfect and more agreeable to God. They were the martyrs of the war made upon the Church; she is the martyr of the peace which the Church enjoys. Third, the torments of other martyrs had an end; but hers lasts as

long as the ordinary course of human life. Now all these divers kinds of martyrdom shall be for her an immortal crown of glory in heaven. Think now how happy you are, to have been called to a state, in which you may merit so many rich crowns! How precious your vocation ought to be in your eyes, since it procures to you so many rare advantages!

Apply yourself, then, with so much fervor to the practice of all virtues which it requires of you, that you may render yourself worthy of all those great rewards. A pious author says: "The spiritual nuptials of a religious soul, between her and Christ, begin in the novitiate, are ratified and confirmed in the profession, and are perfected and consummated in the heavenly glory, where the soul is inseparably united to Christ. "St. Bernard having been ordained Abbot of Clairvaux, is said to have thus addressed the novices who came to this Monastery: "If you hasten to the acquisition of the goods that are within, leave there out of doors those bodies, which you have brought from the world. Let your spirit alone enter; the flesh availeth nothing." The founders of religious institutions had no other view, than to assemble together only such as were willing to give themselves to God with all their hearts, and who sought, through the sweetness of grace, the virtues of the sacraments, and the light of truth, to establish themselves in the precious life of sanctity; a life of true devotion, which has no sweeter pleasure than to converse with God, to meditate on the things that God has done for us; a life of charity, that moves souls to help one another as brothers and sisters; a life of mortification, that does not permit us to suffer any evil in ourselves; a life of humility, which delights in submitting itself to every body, and in anticipating others with good offices; a life of penance, which subdues the flesh, and represses the instincts of nature by holy austerities. It is for this end that religious communities have been instituted. But if the contrary take place, if religious persons seek only the repose of nature and the satisfaction of the senses, honor, esteem, reputation, and praise, they plainly resist the designs of God, and should have remained in the world.

DEFINITE APPROVAL OF THE CONSTITUTIONS
DECRETUM

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Benedictus Divina Providentia PP. XV, in Audientia R. P. D. Secretario Sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis die Augusti 1921 concessa, attentis litteris commendatitiis Antistitum locorum, in quibus Institutum religiosum Sororum Caritatis a Nazareth nuncupatum, reperitur, cuius domus princeps sita est in loco Nazareth, in statu Kentuckiano Americae Septentrionalis, in diocesi Ludovicopolitana, audito praesertim suffragio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Patrum Cardinalium, eidem Sacrae Congregationi praepositorum, qui in Plenariis Comitiis in Aedibus Vaticanis, die 12 huius mensis et anni, rem maturo examine perpenderant, praefati Instituti Constitutiones, lingua italica exaratas, ut continentur hoc in exemplari, cuius autographum in Tabulario Sacrae Congregationis asservatur, definitive approbare et confirmare dignatus est, prout praesentis Decreti tenore illas definitive approbat et confirmat; salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad normam Sacrorum Canonum.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis Negotiis Religiosorum Sodalium praepositae, die 16 Augusti 1921.

Theodorus Valfré di Bonzo,
Praefectus.
Maurus M. Serafini, Abb. O.S.B.,
Secretarius.

DECREE OF PRAISE

Ludovicopolitana

Anno 1812, Kalendis Decembris, initium duxit pia Sororum a Caritate de Nazareth Familia, studio in primis Rmi. Dni. Flaget, Episcopi Ludovicopolitani, in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis, sub Statutis S. Vincentii a Paulo, ejusdem Instituti praecipui Patroni, puellarum educationi praesertim incumbens.

Duae tunc primum Sorores; insequenti vero anno ad sexdecim auctae sunt. Crescente in posterum tum ipsarum Sororum tum domorum numero, quanto proximorum salutis ardore pium Institutum flagraret mirabiliter patuit in patriis calamitatibus, quum morbi epidemici atque civile bellum regiones illas depopularentur.

Quum vero in praesens, a Reverendissimis Ordinariis amplissime commendatae, nunc prima vice sese Apostolicae Sedi praesentaverint, Pontificiam recognitionem postulantes, haec S. Congregatio de Religiosis in Plenariis Comitiis diei 26 Augusti, 1910, attentis commendatitiis epistolis Rmorum. Ordinariorum, atque omnibus mature perpensis, easdem Sorores a Caritate de Nazareth, quarum domus princeps extat in dicta dioecesi Ludovicopolitana, praesenti Decreto Laudis donandas esse statuit atque decrevit, salva semper Rmorum. Ordinariorum jurisdictione ad normam Sacrorum Canonum atque Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Quam EE. Patrum sententiam confirmare benigne dignatus est SS. Domi-

nus Noster Pius PP.X, in Audientia insequenti die hujus S. Congregationis Subsecretario concessa. Contrariis omnibus non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria S. Congregationis de Religiosis, die 5 Septembris, 1910. Fr. I. C. Card. Vives, *Praef.*

APPROVAL OF THE CONSTITUTIONS

Ludovicopolitana

S. Congregatio de Religiosis, in Comitiis Plenariis diei 26 Augusti, 1910, omnibus mature perpensis, attentisque epistolis commendatitiis Rmorum. Ordinariorum, Sororibus a Caritate de Nazareth, quarum domus princeps extat in Dioecesi Ludovicopolitana, Constitutionum, italica lingua scriptarum et prout in hoc exemplari authentico ex officio correcto jacent, approbationem ad decennium concedendam esse statuit atque decrevit, salva semper Rmorum. Ordinariorum jurisdictione ad normam Sacrorum Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Quam EE. Patrum sententiam benigne confirmare dignatus est SS. Dominus Noster Pius PP. X, in Audientia Rmo. Sacrae hujus Congregationis Subsecretario, sub insequenti statim die concessa. Contrariis omnibus non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria S. Congregationis de Religiosis, die 5 Septembris, 1910. Fr. I. C. Card. Vives, *Praef.*

APPROVAL OF THE INSTITUTE

Ludovicopolitana

Singulari benevolentia Sedes Apostolica prosequi vult Sorores a Caritate de Nazareth, domum principem in dioecesi Ludovicopolitana habentes, quaeque a centum fere annis exortae, numero ac domiciliis feliciter multiplicatae, optime de Christiana republica sunt meritae.

Quare haec S. Congregatio de Religiosis in Comitiis Plenariis diei 26 Augusti, 1910, attentis Rmorum. Ordinariorum epistolis commendatitiis, atque omnibus mature perpensis, praefato Instituto Caritatis de Nazareth definitivam approbationem concedere statuit atque decrevit, salva semper Rmorum. Ordinariorum jurisdictione ad normam Sacrorum Canonum atque Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Quam EE. Patrum sententiam confirmare benigne dignatus est SS. Dominus Noster Pius PP.X, in Audientia insequenti die Rmo. hujus S. Congregationis Subsecretario concessa.

Contrariis omnibus non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria S. Congregationis de Religiosis, die 5 Septembris, 1910. Fr. I. C. Card. Vives, *Praef.*

With their principal benefactors the Sisters rank the late Father Elder Mullan, S.J., who worked untiringly to secure the final Papal approbation for the Society. After a life full of labors and merits, this learned and pious Religious died at St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, on July 6, 1925.

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